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A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

SANSCRIT, ZEND,
GREEK, LATIN, LITHUANIAN, GOTHIC, GERMAN,
AND SCLAVONIC LANGUAGES.

BY

PROFESSOR F. BOPP.

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PART III.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

LIEUTENANT EASTWICK, M.R.A.S.

MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS AND BOMBAY, AND PROFESSOR OF URDU IN THE EAST-INDIA COLLEGE AT HAILEYBURY.

CONDUCTED THROUGH THE PRESS

BY H. H. WILSON, M.A.F.R.S.

BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

PART III.

VERBS.

FORMATION OF THE MOODS.

POTENTIAL, OPTATIVE, AND CONJUNCTIVE.

716. In the dialect of the Vêdas the *Lêṭ* mood or conjunctive is also formed by the insertion of an *a*, in cases where, in the corresponding indicative form, an *a* is wanting, by the lengthening of which the mood in question might be formed. Thus, from the aorist *abhût*, "he was," comes the conjunctive *bhuvat*, "he may be;" where, by the augment being dropped, the meaning of past time is also removed, as is likewise the case in the potential and imperative: from *akar*, "he made" (for *akart*, according to §. 94.*), comes *karat*, "he may make;" from *chikêt-ti*, "he recognises" (R. *kit*. Cl. 3.), *chikêtati*, "he may recognise." So in Old Persian, *ahatiy*, "he may be," from *astiy*, "he is" (Behist. IV. 38. &c.), where the Sanscrit स् *s* in Old Persian is retained before *t*, but before vowels becomes *h*.

From the aorists also, in the Vêda dialect, come conjunctive moods with the terminations of the present; hence, *karati*, "he may make" (Rig V. 46. 6.), from *akar*. The Vêda dialect even forms the conjunctive mood by the simple

* Aorist of the fifth formation, which in the Vêda dialect is more extensively used than in classical Sanscrit.

annexation of the personal terminations of the present to the base of the aorist, thus *e.g. vivôchati* (*vi* prep.), "he may announce," from *vyavôchat* (Rig V. CV. 4.).

IMPERATIVE.

717. This mood, which, in classical Sanscrit, is formed only from the present indicative, is distinguished from the latter merely by the personal terminations (the first person of the three numbers excepted: see §. 713.), which have been already discussed. The dual and plural, with the exception of the third person plural, have the secondary terminations; so that e.g. *bharatâm*, "let the two carry," is distinguished from *abharatâm*, "the two carried," only by the omission of the augment. In Greek the difference of the termination των of φερέτων, from την of the imperfect ἐφερέτην, is unorganic, as των and την are originally one, and both rest on the Sanscrit *tâm*.

718. The second person singular of the Sanscrit first principal conjugation—*i.e.* that which corresponds to the Greek conjugation in ω, to the Latin fourth conjugation, and to the German strong and weak conjugation — is distinguished from the second principal conjugation, which corresponds to the Greek μι, inasmuch as in the active (parasmâip.) it has lost the personal termination; so that e.g. *bhar-a*, "let him carry" (Zend, *bar-a*) terminates with the class-syllable, to which, in the dual and plural, the personal terminations are annexed (भरतम् *bhar-a-tam* = φέρ-ε-τον, भरत *bhar-a-ta* = φέρ-ε-τε). The loss of the personal termination appears of great antiquity; as in Greek too, φέρ-ε is said for φέρ-ε-θι; and in Latin *leg-e*,* *am-â*, *mon-ê*, and *aud-î*, are likewise devoid of the personal sign.

* The *e* of *lege* is, in its origin, identical with the *i* (from *a*, see §. 109. 1.) of *leg-i-te*, and rests on the principle, that in Latin, at the end of a word, *e* is preferred to *i*; hence, *e.g. mare* from the base *mari*.

719. In German the strong verbs have, in the second person singular of the imperfect, rejected the class vowel, and terminate, therefore, with the final letters of the root,* without, however, in most cases, containing the actual root itself, as the vowel of the root, according to the analogy of the present indicative, appears at one time weakened; as *e.g.* in Gothic, *bind*, from the root *band*, "to bind" = Sanscrit, *bandh*; at another time with Guna, hence, in Gothic, *biug*, "bend," from the root *bug* = Sanscrit, *bhuj*; *beit*, "bite," from the root *bit* = Sanscrit, *bhid*, "to cleave" (see p. 105). The Sanscrit also, and Greek, retain, in the present imperative, the Guna gradations of the present indicative, or, most generally, that of the special tenses; hence, *e.g.* in Sanscrit, *bôdha*, "know" (from *baudh*) from *budh*, and in Greek, φεύγε from φυγ. The German weak verbs retain their class character (see §. 109ª. 6.) corresponding to the Sanscrit *aya*, of the tenth class: the syllable *ya*, however, is contracted to *i* (Gothic *ei* = *î*), as in general the syllable *ya* at the end of a word lays aside its vowel, and changes the *y* into one. Compare, *e.g.* the Gothic *tam-ei*, "tame," from *tamya*, with the Sanscrit causal *dam-aya*; Latin *dom-â*; Greek δάμ-αε. In the second weak conjugation, let *laig-ô*, "lick," be compared with the Sanscrit causal *lêh-aya*, from *lih*, "to lick:" in the contraction of *a(y)a* to *ô*, however, *laigô* approaches nearest to Latin imperatives like *dom-â*, as the Gothic *ô* = *â* (§. 69.). In the third weak conjugation, compare *hab-ai*, *thah-ai*, *sil-ai*, with the Latin forms of like signification; *hab-ê*,

* Thus in Latin *dic* for *dice*. With regard to *fer* it is to be observed, that *fero* also, in the indicative, is to be joined rather with the Sanscrit *bhar* (*bhṛi*) of the third class than with that of the first. Thus, as *fer-s*, *fer-t*, *fer-tis*, corresponds to *bi-bhar-shi*, *bi-bhar-ti*, *bi-bhṛi-tha*, so *fer* answers to *bibhṛi-hi* (from *bibhar-dhi*), the personal termination being suppressed, as in *es* = Greek, ἴσ-θι, Sanscrit *ê-dhi* from *ad-dhi* (for *as-dhi*).

tac-ê, sil-ê, where the *ê* is a contraction of *ai*, and answers to the Sanscrit *ay* of *aya* (see p. 110). In the second person plural *tam-yi-th* (from *tam-ya-th*) corresponds to the Sanscrit *dam-aya-ta*, Latin *dom-â-te*, Greek δαμ-άε-τε. In Greek and German the imperative second person plural is not distinguishable from the present indicative. In Sanscrit, however, the imperative has the termination of the secondary forms (*ta*) opposed to the *tha* of the primary; thus दमयत *damayata*, "tame ye," opposed to दमयथ *dămayatha*, "ye tame." In Latin *domâte* is distinguished from *domâtis*, where the latter form answers to the Sanscrit dual indicative present (दमयथस् *damayathas*, Gothic *tamyats*), the former to दमयत *damayata*, "tame ye" (see §. 444.). The termination *to*, of the second and third person of the so-called future of the imperative, and the Greek termination τω of the third person singular, correspond to the Vêda termination *tât*, which answers for the second as well as the third person;* and in the latter, as has already been remarked, is most correctly retained in the Oscan *tud* (*licitud, estud.*) As in तात the expression of the person is twice contained, so it is in the Latin second person plural *tôte*, for which in Sanscrit तात *tâta* might be expected, which, however, does not occur. In the third person plural *nto* answers to the Greek ντων (*legunto* = λεγόντων), which was before compared with the Sanscrit middle forms in *antâm* (φερόντων = *bharantâm.*)

720. The Sanscrit termination तु, plural अन्तु, is derived from the pronominal base त *ta*, by weakening the *a* to a vowel of middle weight, while in the present indicative, as

* See §. 470. The edition of the First Book of the Rig V. by Fr. Rosen, which has appeared since this work was commenced, has confirmed *tât* to be the termination of the second person of the imperative. II. XLVIII. 15. occurs प्र नो यच्छतात् *pra no yachchhatât*, "give us" and CIV. 5. चकृतात् from the intensive of the root कृ *kṛi*, "to make."

generally in the primary forms the extreme weakening to *i* takes place. We have, therefore, the forms *-ta*, *-tu*, *-ti*, as in the interrogative, in the isolated case *ka*, *ku*, *ki*. In Zend the *u* of the imperative termination is occasionally lengthened; *e.g.* in the frequently-occurring 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 *mraotû*, "let him say:" on the other hand, Vend. Sade, p. 142, 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬑 *kharatu*, "let him eat," 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬑 *vanhatu*, "let him put on."

721. The Sanscrit middle termination *sva* (from *tva*, see §. 443.) of the second person singular is in Zend corrupted with a preceding *a* to *aṇuha* (for *aṇhva*), where the *v* is changed into the vowel *u*, and has stepped before the *h*; the nasal, however, which, according to §. 56[a]., is placed before the *h*, remains, though otherwise 𐬦 *ṇ* occurs as a guttural nasal, only in *direct* combination with *h*. The combination *ṇhv* appears, however, too uncouth to be admitted in Zend; and wherever, therefore, it would occur, we find in its stead 𐬦𐬎 *ṇuh*: hence, too, 𐬬𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬑 *vivaṇuhatô* = Sanscrit विवस्वतस् *vivasvatas*, "of the Vivasvat" (Vendidad Sade, p. 40.). Several examples of imperatives in *aṇuha* occur in the eighteenth Fargard of the Vendidad, where, however, the text corrected by Burnouf (Yaçna, Note A. p. 17) according to the manuscripts is to be referred to, as the lithographed copy (pp. 457, 458) has, more than once, *aṇha* faultily for *aṇuha*: 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬯𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬑 𐬯𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬑 *aiwi vaŝtra ydoṇhayaṇuha*,* "put on the clothes;" 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬯𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬑 𐬨𐬁 *frâ zaŝta ŝnayaṇuha*, "wash thy hands;"† 𐬯𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬑 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬑 𐬀 *â aêŝmaṁ yâŝaṇuha*,

* This form is based on the causal of the Sanscrit root यस् *yas* "to strive."

† I take 𐬯𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬑 *ŝnayaṇuha* as a passive verb with a middle signification; thus Vend. Sade, p. 331, twice 𐬯𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬑 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬑 𐬀 *uŝ tanûm ŝnayaêta*, "let him wash his body" (Anquetil, p. 360, "*il lavera son corps*"): on the other hand, p. 330, *uŝa* (*uŝĕ*?) *tanûm ŝnayâêta*, with a conjunctive vowel between the preposition *uŝ* (=Sanscrit उत् *ut*) and the

"spread out wood" (compare Sanscrit यम् *yam*, in the special tenses यच्छ् *yachh*, with the preposition आ *â*, "to extend"). So also in the Vend. Sade, p. 39, for 𐬵𐬎𐬹𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *hunvaṇha* we ought to read 𐬵𐬎𐬹𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬎 *hunvaṇuha*, according to the manuscripts made use of by Burnouf, and for 𐬵𐬎𐬹𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *višaṇha*, "hearken" (Vendidad Sade, p. 123.), perhaps also 𐬵𐬎𐬹𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬎 *višaṇuha* should be read.

Remark.—In the Latin Edition of my Sanscrit Grammar of the year 1832 (p. 330) I have taken the form 𐬵𐬎𐬹𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬎 *hunuvaṇuha*, or, as the lithographed manuscript reads, 𐬵𐬎𐬹𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *hunvaṇha*, as the imperative middle, and translated *frâmaṅm hunvaṇuha kharĕteê* (according to Anquetil, "*qui me mange en m'invoquant avec ardeur,*") by "*me celebra ad edendum.*" The root *hu* is, as is remarked *l. c.*, added to the conjugational character of the first class, besides that of the fifth class *nu*, for without this unorganic adjunct the form would be *hunushva* (=Sanscrit सुनुष्व *sunushva*). It is certain that the Zend root *hu* must in Sanscrit be *su*, and the opinion which Burnouf ascribes to me (Journal Asiatique, 1844, Dec. p. 467), that the Zend *hu* rests on the Sanskrit हु *hu*, "to offer," has been neither expressed by me at p. 781, nor in my Critical Grammar, p. 330, nor anywhere else. That a Zend 𐬀 *h* never corresponds to the Sanscrit ह् *h* has been expressly remarked in §. 57.; and it is also remarked in §. 53. that 𐬀 *h*, in an etymological respect, never corresponds to the Sanscrit ह् *h*, but always to the pure or dental स् *s*. Had I wished to compare, therefore, *l. c.* its Sanscrit type with the Zend *hu* I could only have referred to one of the roots सु *su*, of which one, like the

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the following word (see §. 518. p. 737). The transitive meaning of the root *śnâ* is, on the other hand, usually represented by 𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬙 *śnâdh* in the active; *e. g.* Vendidad Sade p. 233, 8.: 𐬌𐬎𐬹𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬌𐬎𐬹𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬎 𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬙𐬎𐬀𐬉𐬎 *aêtâo vaśtrâo fraśnâdhayĕn* "let them wash these clothes."

Zend *hu*, belongs to the fifth class. On the meaning "*celebrare*," which I have given to the Zend *hu* (according to Anquetil "*invoquer avec ardeur*") I did not desire to lay any particular stress; for my chief object was to settle the value of the grammatical forms which Anquetil mistook, and I wished to recognise, in the interrogative form, an imperative termination based on the Sanscrit *a-sva*, and in *kharĕteê*, the dative of an abstract substantive, while, according to Anquetil's translation ("*qui me mange*") it might be taken for a third person present. In both respects I now find myself supported by the Sanscrit translation of Neriosengh, which is given (*l. c.*) by Burnouf, which renders 𐬵𐬎𐬥𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬀 *hunvaṇuha* by परिसंस्कारं कुरु *parisaṅskâram kuru*,* and 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀 *kharĕteê* by खादनाय *khâdanâya* ("for the eating," or "the food.") The explanation of the appended commentary is आहारार्थं सन्मानय *âhârârtham sanmanaya*,† *i.e.* "on account of the food honour (me)."‡ The root 𐬵𐬎 *hu* occurs several times in the ninth Ha of the Izeschne, from which our passage is taken; and indeed in the third person of the imperfect *hunûta* (once *hunvata* with the addition of the character of the first class), which Anquetil everywhere paraphrases by "*ayant invoqué et s'étant humilié*," I have translated it (*l. c.*) by "*laudabat*," and regret that Burnouf has not given us Neriosengh's trans-

* Burnouf remarks, "Nos manuscrits sont très-confus en cet endroit: celui de Manakdji a सस्कारश्चरु *saṅskâraścharu*, mais je ne suis par sûr du श्च *śch*; le numero 11. F. lit. संस्कारंकु *saṅshâraṅku* avec श्च *śch* au-dessus de la ligne." However, I have no doubt that Burnouf is right in reading कुरु *kuru*.

† So Burnouf reads for the सन्मारय *sanmâraya* of the manuscripts, which is unmeaning.

‡ Burnouf translates "*honore-moi comme nourriture*," in which I cannot agree with him; for *âhârârtham*, can only mean "on account of the food," not "as food;" and in *khâdanâya*, as the translation of *kharĕteê*, the relation of cause is apparent.

lation of this expression also. Undoubtedly, however, the circumstance that the verb derived from *hu* everywhere refers to 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌 *haoma*, the personified Sôma-plant, speaks in favour of Burnouf's opinion, that the Zend *hu* has the same signification as the Sanscrit root सु *su*; viz. "to press out the sap," where it is to be further remarked, that in Sanscrit the verb from this root is especially used in relation to the Sôma-plant. I avail myself of the occasion which has led me to speak of the ninth Ha of the Izeschne, to correct an error to which I was led by a false reading of the lithographed manuscript of the Vendidad Sade. Four times in this Ha the masculine nominative of the interrogative occurs before the accusative of the pronoun of the second person. The lithographed manuscript reads once 𐬴𐬀𐬱𐬵 𐬫𐬌𐬌𐬎 *kaŝê thwaṅm* (p. 42), once 𐬴𐬀𐬱𐬵 𐬫𐬌𐬌𐬎 *kaŝê thwaṅm* (*s* 𐬱 for 𐬰 *ŝ*, p. 40, by mistake), once 𐬴𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬎 *kaŝêthwaṅm* (p. 41), and once 𐬴𐬀𐬱𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬎 *kaŝithawaṅm* (p. 39). Here, therefore, two readings support the separation of the two pronouns, and two their combination; and at first I supposed that the form of writing in which they were separated was the right one, where, in the *ê* or *i* of *kaŝê* and *kaŝi*, was to be recognised an appended pronoun, like the Greek demonstrative *ι* (*οὑτοσί*, *ἐκεινοσί*: see §. 157*., and Gram. crit. Add. ad r. 270). The *ŝ*, however, I regarded as the sign of the nominative, and this it really is; for though the Sanscrit termination *as* in Zend regularly becomes *ô*, but *s* in the middle and beginning of a word before vowels *h*, there might, however, be an exception in the case of the termination *as* occurring before an enclitic, where *as* might retain its original form; for in Zend 𐬰 *ŝ* is not so much the palatal sibilant as the श् in Sanscrit is, for the latter occurs before no other mutes but palatals only; while 𐬰 occurs before mutes of all organs (see §. 49.), and before mutes which are not palatals always corresponds to

the Sanscrit स s, except before *p*, where this springs from the Sanscrit *v*, as *e.g.* in 𐬯𐬀𐬯 *špâ* = Sanscrit श्व *śva*. As, however, we learn from the notice of the various readings of the Paris manuscripts, which have been in the meantime published by Burnouf (Yaçna, Note R. p. 134), that 𐬴𐬀𐬱 *kašĕ*, and the combination of the interrogative with the following 𐬞𐬭𐬎 *thwaṅm*, "thee," is the prevailing reading (we find the words joined seven times, and separated only five times, and seven times ĕ occurs—for *i* twice, and for ê three times) it admits of scarce any doubt that the vowel which stands between *kaš* and *thwaṅm* is inserted only to assist the utterance, and that we must regard *kašthwaṅm* as the original form; so that, as is the case before the enclitic particle *ka*, the sibilant of the nominative has maintained itself under the protection of the following consonant, and remained too when a conjunctive vowel was inserted to aid the pronunciation.* I shall not decide whether this vowel must necessarily be an 𐬴 ĕ, and could not be either *i* or *a*. Let, however, the quite similar case be considered, where, between the preposition 𐬉𐬌 *uš*, and the verb 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬯 *histâmi*, in the lithographed manuscript at least, at one time 𐬴 ĕ, at another 𐬌 *i*, at another 𐬀 *a* occurs as the vowel of conjunction (see §. 518. p. 737). We may indeed expect, that in all places where the lithographed manuscript has *i* or *a* some one or other of the manuscripts has *ĕ;* and undoubtedly this, the shortest of all the vowels, is best adapted for insertion as a mere vowel of conjunction, as, too, it is regularly used for this

* Thus, as ought to have been remarked at §. 47., the forms 𐬛𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬀 *bitya*, "of the second," and 𐬛𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬎 *thritya*, "of the third," point to a time when the î of the Sanscrit *dvitîya*, *tritîya*, was still present, on which account the *y* has not communicated an aspiration to the preceding consonant, as is the case *e. g.* in *měrĕthyu*, where the combination of the T-sound with the semi-vowel is primitive.

purpose, to prevent the direct combination of *r* with a following consonant (§. 30.), without any other vowel being used for this object. Here, too, the question might be started, why no interposed vowel is to be found in the combinations *kaŝtê*, "who to thee," and *kaŝnâ*, "which man?" (for "who" generally: see p. 281,) mentioned by Burnouf *l. c.* (p. cxxxix), while *kaŝthwaṅm* nowhere occurs? The reason of this, I doubt not, lies herein, that *thwaṅm*, on account of its double consonant, less easily unites with a preceding *ŝ*, than *tê* and *nâ*; while 𐬯𐬌 *ŝt* and 𐬯𐬨 *ŝn* are quite favourite and usual combinations. On the other hand, *histâmi*, though its initial sound is one of weak consonants, required the interposition of a vowel when combined with *uŝ*, because *ŝh* is an impossible combination in Zend. At the beginning of the twenty-first Fargard of the Vend. (Vendidad Sade, p. 498) we five times find *nĕmaŝĕ tê*, *i.e.* "adoration to thee!" (=Sanscrit नमस् ते *namas tê*,)* each time written separately, though the two words evidently ought to be joined, as the vowel of conjunction *ĕ*, and the retention of the termination *aŝ*, for which *ô* would otherwise be substituted, sufficiently demonstrate. It appears, however, that on account of the polysyllabicalness of the word, to which in this case the enclitic *tê* is attached, the phonetic combination appears less intimate, and this may also be the reason why the *t* cannot, as in *kaŝtê*, follow the *ŝ* without an intermediate vowel. We may see how much the Zend inclines to use monosyllabic pronominal forms enclitically, in that it attaches them even to prepositions, which have become detached from the verbs to which they belong: hence, 𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬨 𐬯𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 *frâmaṅm hunvaṅuha* in the passage cited above; so 𐬯𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬨 *âmaṅm yâŝaṅuha*, which

* That Anquetil's translation "*addressez votre prière*" is incorrect requires no proof.

Neriosengh translates by मां समीहस्व, *i.e.* "wish or obtain me;" and Burnouf (Journ. As. Dec. p. 465) by "*invoque-moi.*"* We may also here preliminarily remark that, for the first time, we have learned, through Rawlinson's late ingenious discoveries, that in Old Persian also the pronouns readily attach themselves as enclitics to the preceding word, and that if we read without the *a* (which in old Persian is sometimes contained in the consonants, and sometimes not), *y*, which is regularly added to the *i* at the end of a word, as well as to the diphthong *ai*, the old Persian enclitics will, in like manner, be all monosyllabic. For this, as for other reasons, I read *auramazdâmaiy*, "Auramazda to me," for Rawlinson's *-maiya* (former reading *miya*).

722. The first person of the three numbers of the imperative follows in Sanscrit and Zend a peculiar principle of formation, which, as has already been remarked, corresponds rather to the conjunctive or *Lêṭ* than to the other persons of the imperative. An *â* is prefixed to the

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* Anquetil altogether omits to translate this expression, for which, in the lithographic manuscripts (p. 39), occurs by mistake *yâsaṇha*. Burnouf thinks he recognises in the root *yâś*, the Sanscrit याच् *yâch*, "to demand, ask;" but a difficulty arises in the 𐎱 *ś* for Sanscrit च् *ch*, of which I have elsewhere met with no example. The root यछ् *yachh*, as substitute of यम् *yam*, answers better, on account of its final consonant, as छ् *chh* in Zend is regularly represented by *s'*; on which account I have above (§. 721.) preferred *âyâśaṇuha*, "spread out," to this root. Here, however, the meaning of the Sanscrit यम् *yam*, यछ् *yachh*, preposition आ *â*, does not suit. Perhaps the *â* (*mânm*) *yâśaṇuha* in question is radically identical with the frequently-occuring *âyéśé*, "I praise" (or "invoke"?) which leads to a Sanscrit root *yaś*, which is only retained in यशस् *yaśas*, "glory." With regard to the Zend *é* for the Sanscrit *a* or *â* see §. 42. It is probable, however, that in *âyéśé*, as also in genitives in *yéhé* for *yahê*, and in present forms in *yêmi*, besides the preceding *y* the vowel also of the following syllable has an assimilating influence in the change of *a* or *â* to *é*: hence we find, indeed, *âyéśé*, but not *âyéśaṇuha*, but *âyâśaṇuha*.

personal terminations, the terminations of the present indicative middle which end in *ê* lengthen this diphthong to *âi*, and the verbal theme keeps, in the second principal conjugation, the strengthened form, which elsewhere enters only before the light personal terminations. The first person singular has *ni* for its ending, where *n* is clearly a corruption of *m* and is suppressed like the latter in the Sanscrit middle, while the Zend maintains this decided advantage over the Sanscrit, that it for the most part retains the personal character, and presents *ânê* to match the Sanscrit *âi*. This 𐬀𐬀𐬌 *ânê* therefore bears the same relation to the active 𐬀𐬀𐬌 *âni*, that, in the Greek present indicative, *μαι* does to *μι*. In order to exhibit the principle of formation of the Sanscrit first person imperative I here present the said person of the three numbers of the two active forms of the root दिष् *dvish*, "to hate," compared with the corresponding forms of the present indicative.

	ACTIVE.		MIDDLE.	
	INDIC.	IMPERAT.	INDIC.	IMPERAT.
Sing.	*dveshmi*,	*dvêsh-â-ni*.*	*dvishê*,	*dvêshâi*.
Dual	*dvishvas*,	*dvêsh-â-va*.	*dvishvahê*,	*dvêsh-â-vahâi*.
Plur.	*dvishmas*,	*dvêsh-â-ma*.	*dvishmahê*,	*dvêsh-â-mahâi*.

So in Zend, Vendidad Sade p. 477, several times 𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬌 *jan-â-ni* (= Sanscrit *han-â-ni*) "I will smite, destroy,"†

* The lingual *ṇ* occurs on account of the euphonic influence of the preceding lingual sibilant according to §. 94'. of my Sanscrit Grammar.

† In Sanscrit also the first person imperative sometimes occurs in the sense of the future or present indicative, to express a decided volition of a positive impending action, *e. g.* Sunda and Upas. I. 26. Anquetil takes *janâni* as the third person of a preterite, and renders it (p. 413.) by "*il frappa*," and once by "*seront anéantis*." It needs, however, no proof that *janâni* is really the first person imperative, for Zoroaster speaks to Ahriman the words 𐬛𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌 *duschda aṇrô mainyô janâni dâma daêvô dâtêm*, &c., "Vicious Ahriman,

pp. 132, 479. 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬌 *kĕrĕnav-â-nê* "I should make," (=Sanscrit *kṛiṇ-avâni* from *karnav-â-ṇê*).

723. In verbs of the first principal conjugation and of the ninth class, as also in roots in *â* of the second or third class, the modal *â* combines with the preceding *a* or *â*; hence *e.g.* भराणि *bharâni*, "let me carry;" Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌 *barâni*, middle 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬌 *barânê* (Vendidad Sade, p. 480). So 𐬵𐬌𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬌 *vîśânê*, "I will obey;"* 𐬐𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬌 *yazânê* (see p. 278), "I should offer;" 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬉𐬌 *pĕrĕnânê*, "I should destroy" (Vendidad Sade, p. 335, compare Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 530, ff.); 𐬐𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬌 *yaoschdathânê*, "I should purify" l.c. p. 480).†

Ahriman I will destroy the Daêva-created people." Upon which (p. 478) Ahriman says to Zoroaster,

𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬨𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬢𐬀

mâmê dâma mĕrĕchaṇuha ashâum Zaratustra

"Slay not my people, O pure Zoroaster!

* Vendidad Sade, p. 124. 𐬐𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬢 𐬵𐬌𐬉𐬀𐬌 *azĕm tê vîśânê*, "I will obey thee," so *l. c.* are other imperatives in the sense of the future, as 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬉𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬢 𐬐𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬢 *azĕm tê gaêthâo varĕdhayêni*, "I will make thy lands increase" ("make fruitful," Anquetil p. 271. "*je rendrai votre monde fertile et abondante*").

† See §. 637. I am now, however, of opinion, in departure from what has been remarked at p. 112, that the *th* of *dath* is a substitute of *dh*, and I take *da* as the syllable of reduplication, as in the Sanscrit *dadhâmi*. The 𐬉𐬌𐬛𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬌 *nidaithyaiin*, "deponant," mentioned at p. 112, corresponds to the Sanscrit निदध्यस् *nidadhyus*, 𐬉𐬌𐬛𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬉𐬌 *ni-daithîta* to the Sanscrit निदधीत *ni-dadhîta*. (§. 702.) In the genitive of the participle of the reduplicated preterite 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀 *dathushô* corresponds to the Sanscrit *dadhushas*; while in the nominative 𐬛𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬵𐬀 *dadhvâo* (= Sanscrit दधिवान् *dadh-i-vân*) and in the accusative 𐬛𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬢𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀 *dadhvâoṇhĕm* (= Sanscrit *dadh-i-vâṅsam*), the alteration of *dh* to *th* does not take place, an alteration which most probably is found only in the weak cases. Perhaps in Zend *th* is considered weaker than *dh* and *d*, and this may be the reason that the interrogative verb, where it appears without a preposition or other incumbrance of composition, or even with compositional incumbrance, but without reduplication, also exhibits no *th* in the examples with

After 𐬌 *y* comes *ê* for *â*; hence *e.g.* 𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵 *varĕdhayêni*, "I will make to grow" (Vend. Sade, p. 124); 𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 *frahârayênê*.* In the production of this *ê*, however, the *i* or *ê* of the termination bears the most important part, for if the *y* alone was the efficient cause, it would also influence the following vowel, if *i* or *ê* did not occur in the termination; this, however, is not the case, hence *e.g.* 𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *varĕdhaya*, "make to grow" (Vend. S., p. 124); 𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *raôchaya*, "make to give light, kindle" (p. 457); 𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *yaśnayata*, "*sacrificio colite*" (Burnouf, Yaçna, Note A. p. 13.)† So in the second person plural middle, 𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬴𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵 *vârayadhwĕm*, "defend ye;" 𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬴𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵 *dhârayadhwĕm*, "preserve ye" (Burnouf, l. c. Note D. p. 38.)

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with which I am acquainted; while, where the reduplicated verb is burthened by composition, *th* almost universally occurs in the base-syllable, though *dh* also is occasionally found, *e.g.* in *yaoshâdhâiti* (Burnouf, Yaçna p. 360.) In cases where the forms with *th* follow the analogy of the Sanscrit first class, as *e. g.* in *nidathĕm*, "I have made," (Burnouf l. c.) I regard the vowel which follows *th* not as the class vowel, but, as in the conjugation of the root स्था *sthâ*, 𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *śtâ*, as the shortening of the radical vowel (see §. 508.) I also now consider the verbal-theme *snâdha*, "to wash," as a compound of the root *śnâ* and *dhâ*, the radical vowel of the latter being shortened (compare Benfey Wurzel lex., II. 34.) The perhaps not numerous forms may appear surprising in which the vowel of the syllable of reduplication of the Zend root *dhâ* (without a vowel preceding, *dâ*) is long, as in the example mentioned by Burnouf (l. c.) *nidhâthayĕn*, "they may lay down." Here either the lengthening of the syllable of repetition is a compensation for the shortening of the base-syllable, or the genius of the language takes *dâth* for a secondary root, without being conscious that the *d*, with its vowel, is in fact a syllable of reduplication, as in Sanscrit the forms *dê-hi*, "give," (from *dad-dhi*, Zend *daz-di*) and *dhê-hi*, "place," (from *dhad-dhi*), no longer give the impression of reduplicated forms.

* Vendidad Sade, p. 82. 𐬵𐬌𐬥 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵 𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬥 *hê urvânĕm vahistĕm ahûm frahârayênê*, "I will make his soul go to the most excellent place;" Anquetil, p. 139, "*je ferai aller librement son ame aux demeures célestes.*"

† *Yaśnayémi* is a denominative from *yaśna* = Sanscrit *yajna*, "offering."

Remark.—An explanation—and I am now much inclined to adopt it—might be given of the *a* of the terminations *âni, âva,* &c., in the first principal conjugation, as follows; viz. by recognising in it only the lengthening of the short *a* of the class-syllable, while only *-ni,* &c. is regarded as the personal termination. There is a twofold occasion, however, for the lengthening of the *a* of the class-syllable; first, that in the *Lêṭ* mood, or conjunctive, to which, according to its principle of formation, the first person of the imperative belongs, the *a* of the class-syllable is lengthened (see §. 713.); and secondly, that especially before pronominal-consonants of the first person, in case of their being followed by vowels, an *a* originally short is lengthened; and hence forms like *ami, avas, avæ,* &c. nowhere occur, wherefore *ani* also is not to be looked for. On the latter principle may be explained the *â* of *dvesh-â-ṇi, bibhar-â-ṇi, yunaj-â-ni, kinav-â-ni,* and *karav-â-ṇi;* so that we may assume that the *a,* which, according to §. 716. is added in the conjunctive, is lengthened simply on phonetic grounds. It is certain that the first person plural of the l. c. cited, भुवत् *bhuvat,* "let him be," can only be *bhuvâma,* and this is at the same time the imperative of the fifth aorist-formation (see §. 573.). The first person plural of the Old Persian *ahaty,* "let him be," quoted in §. 716., is most probably *ahâma,* which would correspond to the Sanscrit imperative असाम *as-âma.* If this view be correct, then in the ninth class also the words *yu-nâ-ni, yu-nâ-va,* &c., must not be divided into *yu-nâ-âni,* &c., but we must assume that, as here, an *â* in the original word precedes the personal termination, no further *a*-sound could be added. The ninth class already meets the requirement for fulness of form in the first person in this way, that the syllable *nâ* is not, as in the weak forms, weakened to *nî.* The roots *dâ* and *dhâ,* which reject their *â* before the heavy terminations, retain the same in the imperative by reason of their inclination to fulness of

form; thus e. g. *da-dâ-ma, da-dhâ-ma,* not *dad-ma, dadh-ma* (compare §. 481.).

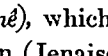
724. Besides the middle termination *ânê,* which surpasses the Sanscrit in correct retention of the original form, the Zend also recognises the abbreviated form *âi,* of which, however, it makes but unfrequent use. An example is 𐬬𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬌 *vîšâi* in the fourth Card of the Visperéd (Vend. S., p. 55), where 𐬬𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬌 𐬐𐬎𐬵 *azêm vîšâi,* occurs seven times, which Anquetil renders by "*j'obeis.*" With the preceding imperative *âšîâya,* "bring,"* the present indicative accords best; so that, in the want of positive examples, we might believe 𐬬𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬌 *vîšâi,* to be only a more energetic form for the present indicative *vîšê.* The form 𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬌 *yazâi,* which occurs several times in the twenty-second Fargard of the Vend., is rendered by Anquetil "*rendez hommage;*" and the context requires also the second person, for *yazâi,* &c., expresses the command of Ormuzd directed to Zoroaster, to whom he promises, as the reward of the reverence required of him, that which follows, *dathâni,* "I will give" (=Sanscrit ददानि *dadâni,* first person imperative). I see also no reason to assent to Burnouf in placing (Yaçna, p. 495) the words 𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬌 *yazâi,* &c., in the mouth of Zoroaster; and I take *yazâi* to be the imperative active of the causal form, and, indeed, as a contraction of *yazaya;* whether it be that this expression really has a causal signification, and means "let honour," or that the causal form has here the same meaning as the primitive form, as in Sanscrit also is not unfrequently the case. In a phonetic view, the relation of *yazâi* to *yazaya* resembles that of 𐬬𐬀𐬌 *nâi,* "conduct," to the Sanscrit नय *naya.* With regard to *yazâi,* as well as to *nâi,* we must assume that, in compensation for the suppres-

* Literally, "make to come," the causal of *šîtâ,* "to stand," with the preposition *â.* Anquetil takes the adjoining accusative as a nominative, and *âšîâya* as the third person.

sion of the final *a*, the *a* of the preceding syllable is lengthened, or, which comes to the same thing, the *a* of the final syllable is transposed, nearly as in the change of *ashavan* "pure," into *ashâum* (with *m* for *n*) in the vocative. The form 𐬐𐬀𐬌 *nâi*, "conduct," occurs six times at the end of the ninth Ha of the Izeschne in combination with *nâšĕm** (Vend. S., p. 47). Anquetil (p. 112) renders 𐬐𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬯𐬋𐬨 *nâšemnâi kĕhrpĕm* by "*enseignez-moi le moyen d'anéantir son corps*" The literal meaning, however, is "conduct the body to destruction," (e.g. *azôis*, "of the snake," = अहेस् *ahês*.) Here, perhaps, the composition of the imperative with the accusative *kĕhrpĕm* may have given occasion for the contraction of *naya* to *nâi*. This, however, does not prevent the assumption that, without any special occasion, a transposition of the *a* of the syllable *ya* may also take place, since the Zend is particularly fond of transposing the *a* of the syllables *ya* and *va*, and forming them into a diphthong with the vocalized semi-vowel. I shall return to this subject in the emendations to §. 42.

725. In respect to Syntax, it deserves notice that the first person of the imperative in Zend not only, as has been already shewn by some examples, sometimes supplies the place of the future indicative, but is also used as the conjunctive, governed by 𐬬𐬀𐬙𐬀 *yatha*, "that." Thus, in a passage quoted by Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 427) with a different object from the fourth chapter of the Yescht de Gosch, 𐬬𐬀𐬙𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬎 𐬉𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 *yatha azĕm bandayêni*, "that I bind;" 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬵𐬎 𐬀𐬌 *uta baštĕm vâdhayêni*, &c., "and (that I) beat those who are bound;" 𐬀𐬵𐬎 𐬀𐬌 *uta baštĕm upanayêni*, "and (that I) conduct those who are bound." On passages of this kind Burnouf's

* This word is not once written quite correctly in the lithographed manuscript; the correct reading, however, may be easily found by a comparison of the several erroneous ones.

opinion may be based, that the forms in *âni* (or *ênî*), in point of sense, belong as well to the imperative as to the potential, while he denies in toto that the middle form in *ânê* (or *ênê*), which was first brought to light by Fr. Windischmann (Jenaische Allgemeine Litt. Z. July 1834, p. 138), belongs, in point of signification, to the imperative, and explains the forms in *âi* according to their meaning as genuine imperatives middle of the first person (Yaçna, p. 530, Note). I cannot assent to this opinion, as *e.g.*  *yazânê*, "offer," in the passage quoted above (p. 278), has as imperative a meaning as the first person for the most part admits of, while *visâi* (§. 724.), according to its signification, is rather a present indicative, and *yazâi* (l.c.) is explained as the second person imperative active of the causal.

726. Among the European sisters of the Sanscrit, the Gothic alone presents a first person of the imperative, but only in the plural, where, e.g., *visam*, "*simus*," (Luc. xv. 23.) corresponds to the Sanscrit *vasâma*, "*habitemus*," without, however, being formally distinguished from the present indicative; as the Sanscrit terminations *mas* and *ma* in Gothic are represented by mere *m*, except in the conjunctive, where *ma* corresponds to the Sanscrit म *ma* of the secondary forms. It has been already remarked that, according to its formation, the imperative of the Sclavonic and Lithuanian does not belong to the proper imperative (see §§. 677. 699.).

I here give a general view of the points of comparison which have been arrived at for the imperative present.

	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTH.
1. p. sg. act.	*han-â-ni*,	*jan-â-ni*,	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .
	bhar-â-ni,	*bar-â-ni*,[1]	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .
1. p. sg. mid.	*karav-âi*,	*karav-â-nê*,	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .
	bar-âi,	*bar-â-nê*,	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .

[1] *Barâni* cannot be supported by quotation, but is clearly deduced from the middle *barâné* (§ 723.) and the plural *barâma* (V. S. p. 208).

	SANSCRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	GOTH.
1. p. pl. act.	*bar-â-ma,*	*bar-â-ma,*	. . . . .	. . . .	*bair-a-m.*
2. p. sg. act.	*dê-hi,*[2]	*daz-di,*[3]	(δίδο-θι),	. . . .	. . . .
	ê-dhi,[4]	. . . . .	ἴσ-θι,	. . . .	. . . .
	bhar-a,	*bar-a,*	φέρ-ε,	. . . .	*bair.*
	vah-a,	*vaz-a,*	ἔχ-ε,	*veh-e,*[9]	*vig.*
	vah-a-tât,[5]	. . . . .	. . . . .	*veh-i-to,*	. . . .
2. p. sg. mid.	*dat-sva,*[6]	. . . . .	δίδο-σο,	. . . .	. . . .
	bhar-a-sva,	*bar-aṇ-uha,*[7]	φέρου, from φέρ-ε-σο,	. . . .	. . . .
2. p. du. act.	*bhar-a-tam,*	. . . . .	φέρ-ε-τον,	. . . .	*bair-a-ts.*
2. p. pl. act.	*bhar-a-ta,*	*bar-a-ta,*	φέρ-ε-τε,	. . . .	*bair-i-th.*
	bibhṛi-ta,	. . . . .	. . . . .	*fer-te,*	. . . .
	vah-a-ta,	*vaz-a-ta,*	ἔχ-ε-τε,	*veh-i-te,*	*vig-i-th.*
2. p. pl. mid.	*bhar-a-dhvam,*	*bar-a-dhwĕm,*	φέρ-ε-σθε,	. . . .	. . . .
3. p. sg. act.	*vas-a-tu,*	*vanh-a-tu,*	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .
	vah-a-tât,	*vaz-a-tât,*[8]	ἐχ-ε-τω,	*veh-i-to,*	. . . .
3. p. du. act.	*bhar-a-tâm,*	. . . . .	φερ-έ-τωv,	. . . .	. . . .
3. p. pl. act.	*bhar-a-ntu,*	*bar-a-ntu?*	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .

[2] *Dê-hi* from *dad-dhi* for *dadâ-hi* from *dadâ-dhi,* See §§ 450. 481.

[3] *dazdi* from *dad-di,* See § 450., where for *dazdhi* read *dazdi,* as *dh* occurs only between two vowels. Thus we twice read in V. S. p. 50, *dazdi-mê,* "give to me," with *mê,* "to me," enclitic, where we must remember, that in Sanscrit, also, the forms मे *mê,* "*mei, mihi,*" and ते *tê,* "*tui, tibi,*" are used only enclitically; just as in Old Persian *maiy* and *taiy.* We must therefore take the (in V. S. pp. 505, 507, 508) frequently recurring *dathâni tê,* "I will give to thee," as = *dathânitê,* since composites in Zend are frequently separated in writing. If, however, *dathânitê* is to be taken as one word, I should then explain the *th* as being for *dh,* on the same principle as that by which the root *dâ,* "to lay," in the reduplicated forms, when they appear in composition, regularly exhibits *th* for *dh* in the radical syllable. (See p. 964, Rem. **.)

[4] From *ad-dhi* for *as-dhi.* [5] 956 Rem.

[6] For *dadâ-sva.* (See § 481.) [7] See § 721. [8] See p. 653, Note †.

727. In the Vêda dialect and Zend occur forms also which correspond to the imperative of the aorist in Greek,

and, like the latter, have with the augment, which is the true symbol of past time, also laid aside the past signification. To the Greek first aorist corresponds भूष *bhûsha*, "be" or "become" (see Westerg. r. भू, pref. सा) euphonic for *bhû-sa* = *φῦ-σον*. The *ν* of the termination *σον*, if organic, may be deduced from *ς**, and this from *θ*, as, *e.g.*, *δός*

* See § 97. With regard to the transition of final *ς* into *ν* compare also *ἦν*, "he was," with the Doric *ἦς* and सास *âs* of the Vêdas: moreover the suff. *θεν* = Sanscrit *tas*, Latin *tus* (§§ 421. 531.). The form *-θεν*, as it approaches closer to the Sanscrit *tas* and Latin *tus* than *θε* does, must be regarded as more organic than the latter, which, as Buttmann remarks, (§ 116. 4. Rem. 1.), is of frequent occurrence only in certain particles, in which the original meaning ("whence") is not so perceptible, and is found elsewhere but seldom where the metre requires it (*ἀντρόθε* Pind., *Κυπρόθε* Calimm., *Λιβύαθε*, *πάντοθε* Theocrit.). Observe, also, the complete rejection of the *ν* in the acc. of bases ending in a consonant (*πατέρα*=Sanscrit *pitaram*, Latin *patrem*), as well as, in particular, the abundantly demonstrated fact, that final letters are the most exposed to weakening and complete extinction. The weakening of *s* to *n* is too, in itself, not more remarkable than that of *s* to another liquid, viz. *r*; which, in Sanscrit, so frequently takes place according to settled laws, and occurs dialectically also in Greek (see §. 22.), and is found in several kindred languages in certain parts of Grammar; as, *e.g.*, in Irish the termination *mar* of the 1st p. pl. represents the Sanscrit *mas*, Latin *mus*, Doric *μες*, which latter, in the common dialect, is corrupted to *μεν*. The Sanscrit secondary termination *ma*, which also occasionally occurs in the present, is very probably an abbreviation of *mas* (see §. 439.), which first appeared after the separation of dialects; an abbreviation which enters more extensively into Old Persian, since there the final *s* after *a* and *â* has become the weakened form of all terminations. Therefore I cannot agree with Pott (Etym. Forsch. II. 306.)—to whom G. Curtius (Formation of the Tenses and Moods, p. 27) assents—in deriving only *μες* from *mas*, but *μεν* from *ma*, as if the *ν* were only a later suffix or echo. Why, it might be asked, have similar enduring resonant letters (not used like the *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* to prevent the hiatus) not been suffixed to distinct vowel-ending forms, *e.g.* to the *ε* of the voc. of the 2d decl. (§. 204.), or to that of the dual (§. 209.)? The Doric termination *ντω* in the 3d p. pl. imper. (*λεγόντω*, *ποιούντω*, *ἀποτισάντω*) may be regarded with at

from δόθι. We should therefore have to regard -σαθι as the original form, and from that -σας, and afterwards -σον, with the change of α to ο, which is preferred before nasals (see p. 104). In this manner, if the ν of τύπ-σο-ν appears to be the personal termination, and, in fact, in a place where the Vêda dialect has lost the personal termination (*bhû-sha* from *bhû-sha-dhi*), then it must be remarked that, in Prâkrit also, the termination *hi*, which is a mutilated form of *dhi*, is much more extensively used than in Sanscrit (see Lassen, p. 338. Höfer, p. 185). From σαθι a middle termination σασθι may be developed, according to the principle of τυψάσθω from τυψάτω, τύψασθε from τύψατε; for as all terminations, which in the active begin with τ, are preceded in the middle by σ, where τ passes into θ (see §. 474.), so it cannot be matter of astonishment, if, from the to-be-presupposed τύψαθι is formed τύψασθι, and hence, by rejecting the σθ, τύψαι, which presents an accidental agreement with the infinitive active of the aorist

at least equal justice as an abbreviation of ντων; as, *vice versâ*, ντων may be looked on as a lengthened form of ντω, for the Doric dialect has not in all cases preserved the most ancient forms. Pott (l. c.) finds, in a physiological view, the interchange between *s* and ν difficult to comprehend; as, though both are dentals, yet the difference in their pronunciation is vast. Still greater, however, is the difference between that of a mute and the nasal corresponding to its organ; and yet, in Sanscrit, final mutes, if they occur before a nasal, pass into the nasal of their organ (*atishthan mûrdhni*, "he stood at the top," for *-tm*); and in Latin *somnus* stands for *sopnus*; in Greek σεμνός for σεβνος: while reversedly, in Lithuanian and Sclavonic, without its being occasioned by the neighbouring letters, the *n* of the number nine (Sanscrit *navan*) has become *d* (see §. 317.); and in Greek the *n* of the suffix मन् *man*, Latin *men*, has become τ (ὀ-νομαϝ=नामन् *nâman*, *nomen*). I am also of opinion that the Vêda termination *tana*, in the 2d p. pl., has arisen from *tata*, and therefore is only a reduplication of the common termination *ta*, and rests, therefore, on the principle of the Latin imperative-ending *tóte*, and the Vêda *tât* of the 2d and 3d pers. singular.

as in Latin also, *ama-re*, "be loved" (the last syllable of which is only a fuller form of the reflexive, which we, see §. 476., have recognised in *amo-r*, &c.) is in sound identical with the active infinitive. If, however, the imperative τύπ-σαι has arisen from τύπ-σασθι, the abbreviation is only one degree greater than, in the indicative, that of ἐτυπ-σα-σο to ἐτύπ-σω. We return to the Vêda dialect to remark, that to forms like τυπ-σά-τω, irrespective of the personal termination, corresponds the नेषतु *nê-sha-tu* (*sh* euphonic for *s*, see §. 21.), which is cited by Pâṇini (III. 1. 81. Schol.) "let him conduct." In the second person dual भूषतम् *bhûshatam* (उपभूषतम् *upabhûshatam*, see Westerg., r. भू *bhû*, prefix उप *upa*), corresponds admirably to φύσατον, and in the third person plural, श्रोषन्तु *śrô-sha-ntu*, "they shall hear" (Rig. V. I. 86. 5), in respect of the aoristic suffix, to forms like λυ-σά-ντων.

728. In Zend as yet no imperatives have occurred, which, like the Vêda भूष *bhûsha*, &c., would correspond to Greek imperatives of the first aorist; on the other hand, 𐬛𐬀𐬌-𐬛𐬌, *dâi-dî*, "give" (Vendidad Sade, p. 311 twice, pp, 421, 422), corresponds to δό-ς, from δο-θι, 𐬛𐬀-𐬐𐬀, *dâ-ta*, "give ye" (Vendidad Sade, p. 224)* to δότε, and *dâ-ta* "do ye," "make ye," (in comp. 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬛𐬀-𐬐𐬀, *yaoschdâta*, "purify ye," Vendidad Sade, p. 367, frequently) to θέ-τε. I think I discover a middle imperative aorist in 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀, *dâonhâ*, "give thou" (Vendidad Sade, p. 222, l. 1 from the bottom); but we require to understand the passage where this expression occurs by the aid of Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation, as well as a comparison of manuscripts. It is probable that we ought to read 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬀, *dâonuhâ*, where the long *â* would present no difficulty, as in this passage other originally short *a*'s at the end of a word are found lengthened. In the Vêda

* I write *dâta* for *dâtâ*, as in this passage long *a* stands for short *a* everywhere at the end of a word.

dialect the forms are very numerous which answer to the Greek imperative of the second aorist; thus, *śrudhi*, "hear thou," = κλῦθι,* from *śṛiṇômi* (R. *śru*, Cl. 5, irreg.); *śag-dhi*, "be able," from *śaknômi* (R. *śak*, Cl. 5); *pûr-dhi*, "fill thou," from पिपर्मि *piparmi* (R. पॄ *pṝi*, i.e. *par*, Cl. 3). To अभूत् *abhût*, "he was" (aorist of the fifth formation, §. 573.), corresponds *bhû-tu*, "*esto*." Forms like मुमुग्धि *mumugdhi* "loose thou" (R. *much*, third person, *mumôktu*), strongly resemble the Greek like κέκραχθι. The Sanscrit form, however, as appears (see Westerg.) from the indicative form *amumuktam*, distinctly belongs to the aorist, which in the Vêda dialect also exhibits similar reduplicated forms, combining the personal terminations direct with the root, which therefore stand in the same relation to the fifth formation (see §. 573.), which in the Vêda dialect is used also in roots ending in a consonant, as that in which forms of the seventh formation (§. 579.) do to those of the sixth (§. 576.). The वावृधस्व *vâvṛidhasva*, "grow thou" (Rig. Veda, I. 31. 1.), which has been differently explained above (§. 709. Note), is perhaps an imperative middle of the seventh aorist formation: it would then stand for *vavṛidhasva*, as from *mṛig*, in the aorist indicative active, comes *amamṛigam*. The lengthening of the syllable of reduplication would, according to §. 580., be more authorised in the aorist referred to than in the Vêda perfect indicative *vâvṛidê* (Rig. Veda, 52. 2.), for *vavṛidhê* of the common dialect. The circumstance that no

* So long as a pres. of the 2d cl. *śrômi* does not occur, I am inclined to regard the forms of the indicative cited by Westergaard, *aśravam*, "I heard"; *aśrôt*, "he heard," as aorists of the 5th formation, with Guna of the short radical vowel, which appears lengthened in the Greek κλῦθι; as, in forms like δείκνυμι, the ῡ corresponds to the Sanscrit *u* with Guna. Remark, that also in the Vêda aorist *akar*, "he made," *akaram*, "I made," the broader and here the original, but according to Indian Grammar the Gunized, form of the root occurs, while the imper. *kṛidhi*, "make thou," has the shorter form.

indicative occurs corresponding to *vâvṛidhasva*, when regarded as an aorist, would not be a sufficient reason for rejecting this view; for hitherto no indicatives *abhûsham*, *anêsham*, *aśrôsham*, have been found to correspond to the aorist imperatives mentioned in §. 727., *bhûsha*, *bhûshatam*, *mêshatu*, *srôshantu*. If, however, with Westergaard, we assume potentials and imperatives of the perfect, we can then, with him, derive *vâvṛidhasva* from the perfect indicative *vâvṛidhê*. But, according to the signification, the reduplicated imperatives and potentials, which all have a present meaning, are better derivable from the aorist (which in its moods lays aside its past signification together with its augment) than from the perfect, where the reduplication expresses past time, and which, therefore, must remain in the moods likewise; as, *e.g.*, in Gothic, *haihaityau* signifies "I was called," not "I am called." If, however, in the Vêda dialect the reduplicated modal forms spring, in part at least, from the perfect, we must then assume that they have, through a perversion, surrendered the past signification, which belonged to them, so that the German conjunctives of the preterite in this respect stand on older ground. The explanation of the reduplicated modal forms from the intensive, attempted in §. 709. Note, is now far from satisfactory to me; and I now hesitate between the derivation of them from the perfect, and their deduction from the reduplicated aorist. To the latter might be referred *ni . . sêda*, "seat thyself" (see Westerg. pp. 177, 179.), as सनेशम् *anêśam* (see §. 582.) presents an analogous indicative. To the *avôcham* mentioned in the said §. belongs the imperative *saṁvôchâvahâi* (1 p. du. mid. Rig. V. I. 25. 17.).

729. Traces of an imperative of the auxiliary future occur in classical Sanscrit. But the few examples hitherto found all belong to the 2d person pl. of the middle; viz. प्रसविष्यध्वम् *prasavishyadhvam*, "shew ye" (Bhagavad-Gîtâ,

3. 10.); भविष्यध्वम् *bhavishyadhvam*, "be ye" (Mahâ-Bhârata, III. 14394. Râmâyana, ed. Schl. I. 29. 25); and वेत्स्यध्वम् *vêtsyadhvam*, "find ye," "obtain ye" (Mahâ-Bhâr. I. 1111.). The conjecture elsewhere expressed, that by *saṅvakshyata* (in Stenzler's Brahma-Vaivarta-Purani Specimen I. 35.) a future imper. act. of the 2d p. pl. is established, I must now retract; as, by repeated examination of the passage, I find, by the context, that for संवक्ष्यत *saṅvakshyata*, which Stenzler renders "*alloquimini*," we should read *saṅraxhata* (*i.e.* "*arcete*").*

CONDITIONAL.

730. The Sanscrit conditional bears the same relation in respect of form to the auxiliary future that the imperfect does to the present, *i.e.* the augment is prefixed to the root, and the secondary personal terminations supply the place of the primary: hence, *e.g.*, अदास्यम् *adâsyam*, "I would give," and also "I would have given," answering to *dâsyâmi*, "I will give." We may therefore, as in departure from my former opinion I am now inclined to do, regard the conditional as a derivative from the auxiliary future; so that, although the substantive verb is contained in it, there is no necessity for assuming the existence of an obsolete

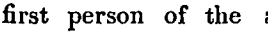
* Observe, that in manuscripts written in Bengal, and especially in the manuscript used by Stenzler, the *r* is frequently not distinguishable from the *v*, as is remarked l. c. p. 10. The य् *y* after the क्ष् *ksh* is added by Stenzler as an emendation. The meaning *alloquimini*, however, does not agree with the context, whilst *arcete principem* corresponds to the sense of the preceding Sl. In Sl. 32 of the same Spec. occurs a form worthy of notice in respect of syntax, viz. the imperative *brûta* as representative of the conjunctive governed by *yadi: yadi satyam bruta*, "if ye speak the truth." So in the fifth book of the Mahâ Bhâr. the second person plural middle of the imperative *prayachchhadhvam* governed by *chêt: nachêt prayachchhadhvam amitraghatinô yudhishṭhirasyâ 'nśam abhîpsitaṅ svakam*, "if ye do not give the fiend-slaying Yudishthir his required share." In the Rig Véda (I. 27. 12) we find the first person plural of the imperative, or *Lêt*, after *yadi: yadi śaknavâma*, "if we can."

âsyam, "I would be," or "I would have been;" and even though such a form should have existed, we might still regard *âsyam* as a derivative of *asyâmi*, "I will be" (=Lat. *ero*, *eris*, see. §. 650.), which has disappeared from use; just as *aḍâsyam* as a derivative from *dâsyâmi*. The circumstance, that in none of the European kindred languages a mood analogous to the said one in Sanscrit is to be found, might lead us to the conjecture, that it is of comparatively late origin, as in Latin the imperfect conjunctive (see §. 707.), which resembles it most, but has evidently sprung up on Roman ground. Compare *da-rem* from *dâ-sem*, for *dâ-saïm*, with अदास्यम् *a-dâ-syam*.

731. The Sanscrit employs but seldom its conditional, which, in the earlier period of the language, is commonly supplied by the potential: a few examples, therefore, may be given here (manuscript vii. 20.), *yadi na praṇayêd, râjâ daṇḍan daṇḍyêshv atandritaḥ | śûlê ṃatsyân ivâ 'pakshyan durbalân balavattarâḥ*, "If the king did not indefatigably punish those worthy of punishment, then the stronger would roast the weak on spits." But here follow four potentials, all standing in the same relation, which are nevertheless explained by the Scholiast by conditionals; viz. *adyât*, "would eat," by *akhâdishyat; avalihyât* "would lick," by *avâlêkshyat; syât*, "would be," by *abhavishyat;* and *pravartêta*, "would become," by *prâvartishyat*. In the eighth book of the Mahâ Bh. (Sl. 1614) we read, *vrijinaṁ hi bhavêt kiñchid yadi karṇasya pârthiva | nâ 'smâi hy astrâṇi divyâni prâdâsyat bhrigunandanaḥ*, "If any fault attached to Karnas, O Prince, the son of Bhrigu would not have given him the heavenly weapons." The conditional occurs as well in the antecedent as in the relative sentence, and, in fact, the first time in the sense of the pluperfect conjunctive, *l. c.* Sl. 709, *nachêd arakshishya* imâñ janam bhayâd dvishadbhir êvam*

* For *arakshishyas* on account of the *i* following.

balibhir prapîḍitam | tathâ 'bhavishyad dvishatâm pramôdanam "If thou hadst not freed from danger this band assailed by powerful fiends, then they would have been the joy of their enemies." Thus, in the Naishadha-Char. 4. 88, *api sa vajram adâsyata chêt tadâ tvadishubhir vyadalishyad asâv api*, "If he (Brahmâ) had given also the thunder-bolt (to thee, the God of love, as a mark), so would even this have been rent in twain (have been split) by thy darts."

Remark—In Zend I know of no instance of the conditional; some resemblance to it, however, may be traced in the form  *fravacsyaṅm*, at the end of the 44th Ha of the Izeschné (V. S. p. 359), which Anquetil translates "*je parle clairement.*" I consider this form to be the first person of the auxiliary future, which, in the absence of examples, I formerly thought must end in *yèmi* (see §. 664.). The fact, that the first person of the future is very frequently replaced by that of the imperative, is perhaps the reason of the rare occurrence of the former. If, however, I am right in explaining the form *fravacsyaṅm* as the first person of the future, it has lost the *i* of the termination; as in Prâkrit, where, except in the form in *himi* (see §. 615.), the termination *mi* of the future auxiliary has everywhere dropped the *i*, whereby, however, the preceding *a* has been shortened; hence, *e. g.*, सुमरिस्सं *sumarissaṅ*, "I will call to mind," corresponding to the Sanscrit *smarishyâmi*. In Zend, through the loss of the final *i* an occasion also for the mutation of the *â* preceding the *m* to *ê* has disappeared; the termination *âm*, however, must, according to §. 61., become *aṅm*; thus, *fravacsyaṅm* = Sanscrit प्रवक्ष्यामि *pravakshyâmi*. In the same Ha, at the end of which occurs the form *fravacsyaṅm*, occurs also six times the form *fravacsyâ* (V. S. p. 356), which Anquetil, in like manner, translates by "*je parle clairement*" or "*je vous parle clairement.*" Then follow the words which Zoroaster (not Ormuzd, as Anquetil

supposes) speaks. If, however, *fravacsyâ* is really a first person, it must still belong to the future only; and it would then, in this form, as compared with that in *aṅm*, be an abbreviation similar to that of the dual case-termination *bya*—for which, in accordance with the Sanscrit *bhyâm*, we should expect *byaṅm*—and to that of the feminine pronominal locative termination *a* (see §. 202.) for the Sanscrit *âm*. The occurrence in *fravacsyâ* of a long *a* is in agreement with the fact that, in the Ha above mentioned, particularly at the end of a word, *â* is found for an originally short *a*; *e. g.* in 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 *śraotâ*, "hear ye." If, however, 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 *fravacsyâ* is not the first person of the future, it can only be taken as the second person of the future imperative, and must then be regarded as a command addressed by Ormuzd to Zoroaster.

DERIVATIVE VERBS.

732. The appellation "derivative verbs" strictly belongs only to denominatives; for passives, causals, desideratives, and intensives, stand quite as near the root as the ten classes of the so-called primitive verbs, excepting the second class (see §. 109. 3.), which latter may be regarded as the base-form of all the rest. The passive, also, is identical in form with the middle of the fourth class, and the causal with the tenth class; while that form of the intensive which joins the personal terminations direct to the root is distinguished from the third class only by the strengthening of the syllable of reduplication, and in that this extends also to the universal tenses. And here we must observe that the tenth class also extends a part of its class character to the universal tenses. We might—as the passive agrees with the middle of the fourth class, and the causal with the tenth class—reckon in all twelve classes of verbs; so that, perhaps, the intensives would fall under the eleventh class, and the desideratives under the twelfth. It is, however, certain

that the verbs called derivative in idea, and as regards their origin, must be classed under those which express only the simple verbal notion along with the relations of person, time, and mood; and must also be regarded as later, and originating in the first place from these latter. For before there could exist a verb signifying, *e. g.*, "I cause to hear," or "I wish to hear," or "I am heard," there must have existed one more simple with the meaning "I hear;" and though श्रावयामि *śrâvayâmi*, *śuśrushâmi*, and *śrûyê*, may be derived from the root itself, *śru*, more readily than from *śṛiṇômi*, "I hear," or its theme *śṛiṇu* (a contracted form of *śruṇu*), still *śruṇu* may stand as the base form from which the so called derivative and secondary verbs have proceeded, by the suppression of the class-syllable *mi*. before the characteristic affix of the derivative base referred to; just as the causal bases, when passives are formed from them, lose their characteristic affix *ay* before the passive character *ya*: as, *e. g.*, from *śrâv-aya-ti*, "he causes to hear," comes *śrâv-ya-tê* (for *śrâv-ay-yatê*), "he is made to hear." According to this scheme the derivative verbs have, in point of fact, only the bare root at bottom as formative material; but the sole reason of this is, that from the primitive verbs, whose offspring they are, all ingredients are removed which do not belong to the expression of the radical idea, in order that the derivative form should not be too unwieldy; just as certain comparatives and superlatives spring, not from the full base of the positive, but from it abbreviated by the removal of the formative suffix (see §. 298. pp. 395, 396.)

733. Let us now consider the formation of derivative verbs severally, beginning with the passives. These in Sanscrit, in the special tenses, annex the syllable य *ya* to the root, and join thereto the personal terminations of the middle. The conjugation agrees exactly with the middle of the fourth class (see §. 500.), so that in the present,

in the example given at p. 696, we have only to annex the middle terminations (see §. 512.) in the place of the active. I give below the 3d per. sing. and pl. with the corresponding persons of the middle (for the class peculiarities of which refer to §. 109ª.) of the roots *budh*, Cl. 1, "to know" (Goth. *ana-bud*, "to command"); *tud*, Cl. 6, "to push" (Lat. *tud*, *tundo*); *vas*, Cl. 2, "to dress oneself" (Goth. *vasya*, "I put on" = caus. *vâsayâmi*);* *bhar* (*bhṛi*, see §. 1.), Cl. 3, "to bear;" *yuj*, Cl. 7, "to bind" (Lat. *jug*, Gr. ζυγ); *star* (*stṛi*, *stṝi*, see p. 680. Note), Cl. 5, "to spread," "to deck;" *prî*, Cl. 9, "to gladden," "to love" (Goth. *friyô*, "I love").

	3D PER. SINGULAR.		3D PER. PLURAL.	
ROOT.	PASSIVE.	MIDDLE.	PASSIVE.	MIDDLE.
budh, Cl. 1,	*budh-ya-tê*,	*bôdh-a-tê*.	*budh-ya-ntê*,	*bôdh-a-ntê*.
tud, Cl. 6,	*tud-ya-tê*,	*tud-a-tê*.	*tud-ya-ntê*,	*tud-a-ntê*.
vas, Cl. 2,	*vas-ya-tê*,	*vas-tê*.	*vas-ya-ntê*,	*vas-atê*.[1]
bhar (*bhr*), Cl. 3,	*bhri-ya-tê*,[2]	*bibhri-tê*.	*bhri-ya-ntê*,[2]	*bibhr-atê*.[1]
yuj, Cl. 7,	*yuj-ya-tê*,	*yunk-tê*.	*yuj-ya-ntê*,	*yuñj-atê*.[1]
star (*stṛi*), Cl. 5,	*star-ya-tê*,[2]	*stṛi-ṇu-tê*.	*star-ya-ntê*,[2]	*stṛi-ṇv-atê*.[1]
prî, Cl. 9,	*prî-ya-tê*,	*prî-ṇî-tê*.	*prî-ya-ntê*,	*prî-ṇa-tê*.[1]

[1] See §. 459. [2] Roots in *ar*, which in the pure or light forms contract this syllable to *ṛi*, when only a single consonant precedes the radical vowel, exhibit the syllable *ri* before the passive character *ya*, which *ri* I consider to be a transposition of *ir*, and the latter a weakening of the old form *ar*, which has remained after a double consonant; hence, *star-ya-tê* corresponding to *bhri-ya-tê*. With regard to the protection which two combined consonants afford to the primitive syllable *ar*, compare the circumstance, that the imperative termination *hi* (from *dhi*) remains in verbs of the 5th class after two combined consonants, but cannot be supported by a single consonant; thus, *chinu*, "collect," opposed to *âpnuhi*, "obtain" (see §. 451.). By this principle I would also explain the fact that, the Latin root *stâ* (=Sanscrit स्था *sthâ*, "to stand") has, almost in every case, preserved the original length of the base-vowel in opposition to *dă* (=Sanscrit *dâ*). The transposition of भिर् *bhir* to

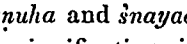
* See §. 169ª. 6.

भृ *bhri*, reminds us of Greek forms like *πατράσι*, which has been explained above as a transposed form of *πατραρ-σι*: I am also now of opinion that in Gothic plural bases like *bróthru*, *dauhtru* – whence come *bróthryu-s*, "brother;" *dauhthryu-s*, "daughter"—we must assume a transposition of *ur* to *ru*; so that the to-be-presupposed bases, *brtôhur*, *dauhtur*, correspond, as weakened forms of *bróthar*, *dauhtar*, to the Sanscrit genitives *bhrâtur*, *duhitur*, which are deprived of their case-termination (see §. 191. Note).

734. It must be observed, that the incumbrance which the root receives in the passive by affixing the syllable *ya*, occasionally introduces irregular weakenings of the root; as, *e. g.*, the contraction of *vach* to *uch* (*uch-ya-tê*, "*dicitur*"), analogously with some anomalous forms of the active (*ûchima*, "we spoke," from *u-uchima*): so, too, the contraction of the syllable *ra* to *ri* in the root प्रछ् *prachh*, "to ask;" पृच्छ्यते *prichchhyatê*, "*interrogatur*;" as, पृच्छामि *prichchhâmi*, "I ask;" *papṛichchhima*, "we asked," compared with *paprachcha*, "I asked;" *prashṭum*, "ask ye." This principle also explains the fact, that some roots in *â* change this vowel in the passive to the lighter *î*; hence, *e.g.*, *dîya* is the passive base of the root *dâ*, "to give" (*dîyatê*, "*datur*"). The Zend, on the contrary, as a consequence of the same principle, shortens the long 𐬀 *â* to 𐬀 *a*, at least in the examples which occur to me: 𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *nidhayêintê*, "*deponuntur*"* (= Sanscrit *nidhîyantê*); 𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬀 *ṡnayanuha*, "be washed"† (=Scr. *snâyasva*);

* Vendidad Sade p. 246: (?𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵) 𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵 𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *yaṁiya narô iršta* (*irista*?) *nidhayêinchê*, "*in quâ* (*terrâ*) *homines mortui deponuntur*;" according to Anquetil (p. 325), "*dans les quels on a mis des hommes morts*," see Note †.

† With middle meaning, "wash thyself" (*zaṡta*, "the hands") (see p. 957, Note **). Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 361, Note) takes the syllable *ya* of this form not as the passive character, which according to him (l. c. p. 359) must be looked for in Zend little more than in Greek and Latin. It appears to me, however, that we may be very nearly right in regarding the

śnayaêta, "let him be washed," or "wash himself" (see. p. 957, Note). In support of the view, that the forms *snayaṇuha* and *śnayaêta* may be taken as passives with a reflexive signification, it may here also be adduced that in Old Persian a similar phenomenon occurs; viz. in  *patipayanvâ** (Beh. IV. 38.), which Benfey, in my opinion rightly, renders "guard thyself" (Rawlinson by "*te expeditum habe*"), and refers to the Sanscrit root पा *pâ* (with the preposition *pati*=*prati*,) which, therefore, in agreement with the Zend, has shortened the long *â* before the passive character.

735. If, with the Indian Grammarians, we regard the Sanscrit *jâyê* (irregular for *janyê*) "I am born," as a middle of the fourth class (see §. 500.), then the corresponding Zend verb may be explained in the same manner. As, however, the meaning "to be born" is strictly passive, and

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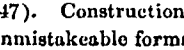
the syllable *ya* in the form above mentioned as the passive character, and the whole as a by-no-means-surprising change of the passive into a reflexive or middle meaning, while in Greek, Gothic, Latin, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic, the reverse is the case. If the form  *nidhayẽnti*, "*ils deposent*," which Burnouf has mentioned at p. 361, and which I am unable to quote, be only a different reading of the *nidhayêintê* mentioned above in the lithographed manuscript, I would also then recognise in it a passive, and draw attention to the fact, that in Sanscrit also, in the passive, the active terminations not uncommonly take the place of the middle, so that the passive relation is to be discerned only in the syllable *ya* (see Lesser Sanscrit Gram., 2d Edit. §. 446). If, however, we take *nidhayẽnti* as active, we must then explain "they lay down" in the sense of "one lays down," and consider *narô irista* as the accusative (see p. 247). Constructions of this kind, as far as I know, are not confirmed by unmistakeable forms, and I therefore prefer explaining the verb as passive.

* Rawlinson and Benfey read *patipayuwâ*; I doubt not, however, that the *a* inherent in *y* must be here read in conjunction with it. The termination *uvâ*, for *huvâ* (euphonic for *hvâ*), corresponds to the Sanscrit imperative termination *sva*.

the form of the middle of the fourth Class is identical with that of the passive, I prefer to explain in both languages the forms with passive signification as really passives; and I adopt for the Sanscrit a middle *jan* of the fourth Class, a kind of deponent with the active meaning "to bring forth," of which, however, but few examples occur, as, *e.g.*, Râmây. ed. Schl. I. 27. 3. पुत्रं व्यजायत *putraṇ vy-ajâyata*, "she bore a son" (with the prep. *vi*). The Zend root 𐬵𐬀𐬰 *zan*, the passive of which frequently occurs in combination with the preposition 𐬎𐬹 *uś* (=Sanscrit उत् *ut*), likewise rejects the final *n* before the passive character *ya*: the preceding *a*, however, is not lengthened, or the long *â*, which had been introduced, is again shortened; which cannot surprise us, as from the first the long *â* at the end of a root is shortened before the passive *ya*. Hence, *e. g.*, 𐬎𐬹𐬰𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹 *uś-zayêintê*, "they are born,"* corresponds exactly to the before-mentioned *nidhayêintê* (§. 734). Of the imperfect we find the second and third person singular; viz. 𐬎𐬹𐬰𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹 *uśazayaṇha*, "thou wast born," (see §. 466. and §. 518.), and *uśzayata*, "he was born".†

736. As the middle of Sanscrit verbs of the fourth Class is identical in form, and, as I believe, in origin also, with the passive, and therefore म्रिये *mriyê*, "*morior*," म्रियते *mriyatê*, "*moritur*," may also stand for the passive, it may here be remarked, that the corresponding verb in Zend, the conjunctive of which, *mairyâiti*, frequently occurs (Vendidad

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* Vend S., p. 136, 𐬎𐬹𐬰𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬹 *dvaêibya hacha nêrêbya dva nara uśzayê intê mithwana śtricha nairyaścha*, "*duobus ex hominibus duo homines nascuntur, par, feminaque masque.*" Anquetil (p. 278), translates "*de deux hommes naquirent deux hommes distingués, le mâle s'étant uni à la femelle.*"

† Vend. S., p. 39, *yaṭ hê* (so I read for 𐬎𐬹 *he*) *puthrô uszayaṭa*, "that a son was born to him."

Sade, p. 24[a]), has replaced the middle termination by the active, as also in Sanscrit the active termination frequently takes the place of the middle in acknowledged passives. The above-mentioned *mairyâiti* is so far older than the corresponding Sanscrit verb, in that it has experienced neither the transposition of *ir* to *ri* mentioned at §. 733. Note 2. (*mriyatê*, like *bhṛi-yatê*) nor the weakening of *a* to *i*, but *mairyâiti* "*moriatur*" stands for *maryâiti*, in consequence of the assimilative power of the *y* (see §. 41.), and affords us a new proof of the unoriginality of the Sanscrit ऋ *ṛi*; and shews that in Sanscrit not *mṛi*, but *mar*, is the true root, whence comes, in Latin, *mor*, which presents to us in the *io*, *iu*, of *morior*, *moriuntur*, a fine remnant of the Sanscrit passive character *ya* य. Compare *iu* in *mor-iu-ntur* with the Sanscrit *ya* of *mri-ya-ntê*. The conjunctive *mor-ia-r*, *mor-iâ-ris*, gives us still more exactly the character of the Sanscrit passive, only that here the Latin *â* appears long, inasmuch as it has absorbed the modal exponent *i*. The Lithuanian also has, in the said verb, preserved the passive character, which we have already (§. 500.) recognised in *gemmu* from *gem-yu*, "I am born," *gim-yau*, "I was born."* So we have *miriau*, "I died," while the present *mir-ẽztu*, "I am dying," belongs to a different conjugational form. In Latin, too, may be mentioned *fio* as a remnant of the old passive. I divide the word thus, *f-io*, and regard it as an abbreviation of *fu-io*, (just as in Old Persian *b-iyâ*,† "let him be" = Sanscrit *bhûyât*), and therefore analogous to the Sanscrit

* The Gothic also presents a remarkably analogous form to the Sanscrit *jâ-yê*, "I am born," in the isolated form *us-hiyanata*, "*enatum*" (Luc. viii. 6.), which presupposes in the present *us-hiya*, "*enascor*," and therefore a simple verb, *ki-ya*, "*nascor*," for *kin-ya*, as in Sanscrit, *jâ-yê* for *jan-yê*.

† Euphonic for *byâ*, as *y* unites very often with a preceding consonant without a preceding *i*.

*bhûyê**, exclusive of the middle personal termination of the Sanscrit. Compare, therefore, *f-iu-nt*, with *bhû-ya-ntê*, *f-ie-t* with *bhû-yê-ta*, *f-iê-mus* with *bhû-yê-mahi*. As the Sanscrit passive is frequently used impersonally in expressions like श्रूयताम् *śrûyatâm*, "let it be heard," instead of "hear thou," आस्यताम् *âsyatâm*, "let it be placed," मम्रे *mamrê*, "let it be dead," I will also here further observe, that in Georgic, whose grammatical relations with Sanscrit I have elsewhere pointed out†, such modes of expression are very common, viz. in the verbs or tenses called by Brosset "indirect," whose element of formation, *ia* or *ie*, presents an unmistakeable resemblance to the passive character; compare, *e. g.*, მგონია *m-gon-ia*, "it is thought by me" (=Sanscrit मया ज्ञायते *mayâ jñâ-ya-tê*, "it is known by me") for "I think," შემიყვარებია *shê-mi-qwareb-ia*, "it was loved by me"="I had loved" (see "The Caucasian members," &c., p. 59). But the common Georgic passive also, where it is retained, corresponds, in its principle of formation, to the here mentioned य *ya*, and most clearly in the third person plural, *e. g.*, in შეიყვარებიან *she-i-qwarebian*, "*amantur*," answering to the active შეიყვარებენ *she-i-qwareben*, "*amant*," the termination of which, in its abbreviation, corresponds to our German forms, as *lieben* (from *liebent*) l. c. p. 56.

737. Originally the Sanscrit passive character *ya* may perhaps have extended over the universal tenses; and in roots ending in *â* or a diphthong I think, even in the pre-

* The passive of *bhû* "to be," must be looked for as impersonal only in the 3d per. sing., as we also find the neut. of the part. fut. pass. in constructions of this kind; *e.g.* (Hit. ed. Bonn. pp. 17. 20.), *tavâ 'nucharćna mayâ bhavitavyam*, "mine is it to be thy attendant"="I must be thy attendant." The idea "to be" is expressed by the active of *bhû*, as *bhavâmi* means as well "I become," as "I am."

† "The Caucasian members of the Indo-European family of languages."

sent state of the language, I recognise a remnant of it, viz. in the *y*, which, in the aorist, the two futures, the precative, and the conditional, precedes the conjunctive vowel *i*; *e. g.*, in *adâyishi*, "I was given," *dâyitâhê* and *dâyishyê*, "I shall be given," *dâyishîya*, "may I be given," *adâyishyê*, "I might be given." I am led to this view principally by the circumstance, that that form of the intensive which, on account of its passive form and active signification, I term deponent, retains the passive character in the said tenses and moods after vowels other than *â*; hence, *e. g.*, *achêchîyishi*, "I collected," *chêchîyitâhê*, *chêchîyishbyê*, "I will collect," from चि *chi*.* If the य् *y* occurred only after आ *â*, it might be assumed, as was formerly my opinion, to be a mere euphonic insertion (see smaller Sanscrit Gram. §. 49ª.), as, *e. g.*, in यायिन् *yâ-y-in*, "going," from *yâ* with the suffix *in*. The reduplicated preterite of the passive is in all verbs, like the corresponding tense in Greek, exactly like that of the middle; so that, *e. g.*, ददृशे *dadṛiśê* signifies, as middle, "I or he saw," and as passive, "I or he was seen." Moreover, the reduplicated preterite or perfect is that one of the universal tenses of the passive, which, with the exception of the third person singular of the aorist, is the only one in common use. I cannot recollect to have seen in any author other universal tenses, or other persons than the third singular of the aorist.†

* Before the *y* of the passive character *i* and *u* are lengthened, as generally the *y* exerts a lengthening power over *i* and *u* preceding it, except when the *iy* is only a euphonic developement of *i* or *î*, as, *e. g.*, in *bhiyas*, "*timoris*," from *bhi* + *as*. Observe, with respect to the lengthening influence of the Sanscrit य्, that in Latin also *j* within a word alone produces for itself length by position.

† This ends in *i*, and wants the personal sign, *e.g.*, *ajani*, "he was born." In this *i* might be recognised a contraction of the passive character य *ya*: to this view, however, are opposed forms like *adâyi*, "he was

738. With respect to the origin of the passive character य *ya*, a very satisfactory explanation, I think, is given of it by Sir G. Haughton,* wherein he mentions that in Bengálí and Hindústání the passive relation is expressed by an auxiliary verb, which signifies "to go": जाना *jânâ* (from *yânâ*, see §. 79.), in Hindústání, and या *yâ* in Bengálí; in the latter, *e. g.*, करा याइ *karâ yâi* signifies "I am made," as it were "I go in making." Now in Sanscrit both इ *i* and या *yâ*, Class 2, signify "to go"; but of these it appears best to keep to the latter root, which, in Bengálí, also expresses the passive relation: and I believe that the shortening of the syllable या *yâ* to य *ya* is to be ascribed to the root being burthened by composition, which rendered a diminution of the weight of the auxiliary verb desirable. The *a* of the passive *ya* is therefore radical, and not, as in the first and sixth Class, a conjugational affix: it follows, however, the analogy of the class syllable *a*, just as, according to §. 508., the root स्था *sthâ*, "to stand," after its abbreviation to स्थ *stha* subjects its final *a* to the analogy of verbs of the first and sixth Class. Through the middle terminations combined with the appended auxiliary verb, and expressing the reflexive relation, the auxiliary keeps the meaning "to go oneself"; and while the Bengálí *karâ yâi* signifies simply "I go in making," the Sanscrit composite implies more, viz. "I go (betake) myself in making." Compare the Latin constructions like *amatum iri*, "to be gone in love": remark, also, *veneo* in opposition to *vendo*; as also the expressions of such common occurrence in Sanscrit, like "to

was given," because here *y* is the passive expression: the *i*, however, most probably is identical with that of *adây-i-shi*, "I was given," *adây-i-shma*, "we were given:" *adâyi*, therefore, would be an abbreviation of *adâyishṭa*.

* In his edition of Manu, B. I. p. 329, and in his Bengálí Grammar, pp. 68 and 95.

go in joy," "to go in anger," for "to be rejoiced," "to be angered": we even find *grahaṇaṅ samupâgamat* "he went in seizure," for "he was seized," in the Râm. (of Schl. I. i. 73.).

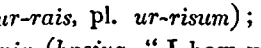
CAUSALS.

739. The Sanscrit and Zend causal is, in its formative character, identical with that of the verbs of the tenth Class (see §. 109ª. 6.). In explanation of the affix अय् *ay*, in the special tenses अय *aya*, the Sanscrit furnishes the roots इ् *i*, "to go," and ईड् *îḍ*, "to wish," "to demand," "to pray": from both arises, by Guna, before vowels अय् *ay*, and in combination with the character of the first Class, अय *aya*. The meaning "to wish," "to demand," appears, perhaps, adapted to represent the secondary notion of the causal verbs, in which the subject completes the action, not by the deed, but by the will: thus, *e.g.*, *kârayâmi*, "I cause to make," would properly mean "I require the making," whether it were intended that "any one made," or "any thing was made." But if the causal character springs from a root which originally signifies "to go," we must then observe, that in Sanscrit several verbs of motion signify also "to make"; *e.g.*, *vêdayâmi* might properly signify "I make to know."

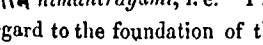
740. Although, as has been remarked (p. 109), all German weak verbs are based on the Sanscrit tenth Class, still that form alone, which has most truly preserved the Sanscrit *aya*, viz. that which in Gothic, in the 1st per. sing. pres., terminates in *ya* (Grimm's first weak conjugation), is used in the formation of causal verbs, or of transitive from intransitive verbs, but not in such a manner that the language, like the Sanscrit, could form a causal from every primitive verb, but rather so that it is content with those handed down from old time. These, in Gothic, agree with the Sanscrit causals also in this point, that the radical vowel always appears in the strongest form that the primitive verb has

developed*. Hence, the weakening of *a* to *i*, which the primitive or strong verbs have frequently experienced in the present, is not admitted in the causal; and the vowels *i* and *u*, which are capable of Guna, are Gunized; and, in fact, through the original heavy Guna-vowel *a*, not as in the present of the primitive through *i* (see §. 27.). Generally, in Gothic, the causal exhibits the vowel of the monosyllabic forms of the preterite of the primitive, yet without its being possible to say that it is derived from the latter; but the causal and the singular of the preterite of the primitive stand, with respect to their radical vowel, in a sisterly, not in a derivative relation. Compare, *e. g.*, *satya*, "I place," (R. *sat*) with *sita*, "I sit," *sat*, "I sate," and with the Sanscrit causal *sâdayâmi*, from the root *sad*, perf. *sasâda*; thus, *lagya*, "I lay," from the root *lag* (*liga*, "I lie," *lag*, "I lay"); *nasya* "I make whole," "I heal," from the root *nas* (*ga-nisa*, "I recover," pret. *ga-nas*); *saggvya*, "I sink, make to sink," from the root *saggv* (*siggva* "I sink," pret. *saggv*); *dragkya*, "I drank," from the root *dragk* (*drigka*, "I drink," pret. *dragk*); *ur-rannya*, "I cause to go up," from the root *rann* (*ur-rinna* "I go up," pret. *ur-rann*). Examples of Gunized *u* in the Gothic causal form are the following: *ga-drausya*, "I make to fall down," "I throw down," from the root *drus* (*driusa*, "I fall," pret. *draus.*, pl. *drusum*; compare Sanscrit *dhvaṅs*, "to fall," §. 20.); *lausya*, "I loosen," from the root *lus* (*fra-liusa*, "I lose," pret. *-laus*, pl. *-lusum*; compare Sanscrit *lû*, "to tear away," "to cut off"). So in Sanscrit, *e. g.*, *bôdhayâmi* (*ô*=*au*), "I make to know," "I awaken," from the root *budh* "to know," "to wake up." The following are examples of the Gunizing of *i* to *ai*: *ur-raisya*, "I set up," from the root *ris* (*ur-reisa*, "I stand up,"

* Those forms only are admitted which have arisen from the contraction of reduplicated preterites (see §. 606.): in Sanscrit, however, the *â*, *e.g.*, of *sâdayâmi* is heavier than the *ê* (=*a*+*i*) of *sêdima*.

pret. *ur-rais*, pl. *ur-risum*); *hnaivya*, "I lower," from the root *hniv* (*hneiva*, "I bow myself," pret. *hnaiv*, pl. *hnivum*). So in Sanscrit, *e. g.*, *vêdayâmi* (ए *é*=*ai*) "I make to know," Zend.  *vaêdhayêmi**, from *vid*, "to know." Our new High German causal remains, such as *setze*, "place," *lege*, "lay," *senke*, "sink," are, by reason of abbreviations of their endings, no longer to be distinguished from their primitives, and furnish a remarkable proof of a corruption of form gradually reaching a point where it becomes imperceptible. Without the fortunate preservation of Gothic forms like *satya*, and other formations of the Old German dialects, corresponding more or less, it would have been impossible to trace in the *e* of *setze* a relation to the Sanscrit *ayâmi* of *sâdayâmi*, and hence an agreement in the principle of formation of the German and Sanscrit causals. So early as the Old German the causal character appears much defaced; *e. g.*, in *nerent*, "*alunt*" (*vivere faciunt*) to be found in Notker, for *neriant*, Gothic *nasyand*; *lego* "*pono*," for *legio*, *legiu*, Gothic *lagya*; *legent*, "*ponunt*," for *legiant*, Gothic *lagyand*, l. c.

741. In Old Sclavonic that conjugation corresponds in which we, in §. 505., have recognised the Sanscrit tenth Class: it therefore corresponds also to the Indo-Germanic causal formation: it also contains the verbs which by their signification alone rank as causals, and to which, as primitive, corresponds a non-causal or intransitive verb. In accordance with the Sanscrit-Gothic principle noticed in the preceding §. these casual verbs exhibit a heavier vowel than the primitive, or they contain a vowel, while the primitive has lost its radical vowel. Thus, as in Sanscrit, from the

* It often occurs in combination with the prep. *ni*;  *nivaêdhayćmi*, according to Anquetil, "*je prie*;" according to Neriosengh, निमन्त्रयामि *nimantrayâmi*, i. e. "I summon" (see Burnouf, Yaçna, p. 419). With regard to the foundation of the *é* of the termination *émi* see p. 963, Note.

root *mar*, "to die" (in its abbreviated form, ѧ, which Grammarians regard as the primitive), comes the causal *mârayâmi*, "I kill," "I make to die"; so in Sclavonic, from the radically abbreviated мрѣ *mrû*, "I die," comes a causal, морѧ *moryû*, "I cause to die" (Dobr. p. 361), which perhaps no longer admits of citation in Old Sclavonic, but is confirmed by the Russian морю *moryû*. The same is the case with варити *var-i-ti*, "to cook" (trans.), compared with врѣти *vr-ye-ti* (intrans.), with бдѣти *bûd-i-ti*, "to wake," compared with бъдѣти *bhd-ye-ti*, "to awake" (Sanscrit *bodhayâmi*, "I wake," *budhyê*, "I awake"). For the *e* of the primitive the causal receives the heavier *o*; hence, *e.g.*, положити *po-losch-i-ti*, "to lay," compared with лежати *lesch-a-ti*, "to lie." The *a* of *sad-i-ti*, "to plant," properly "to set," corresponds to the Sanscrit *â* of *sâd-ayâ-mi* (Goth. *satya*, "I set"), while the ѣ *ye* of сѣсти *syes-ti*, "to place oneself" (euphon. for *syed-ti*, see §. 457.), has probably first weakened the short *a* of the root to *e*, and then (as is commonly the case in Sclav.) prefixed a *y*. Compare the Lithuanian *sêdmi*, "I sit," answering to *sodinù*, "I plant," with the remark that the Lithuanian *o* frequently supplies the place of the long *â*, as, *e.g.*, in the nom. pl. of feminine bases in *a* (*aszwos* = Sanscrit *aśvâs*, "the mares"). Here may also be noticed the Irish *suidinghaim*, "I set," "plant" (answering to *suidhim*, "I sit"), where *gh*, as generally happens in the Irish causal verbs, represents the Sanscrit *y* (compare p. 110, and Pictet, pp. 148, 149). Of Sclavonic causals notice also растити *rast-i-ti*, "to increase," properly, "to make to grow," (*rast-ye-ti*, "to grow"),*

* Sanscrit *vardhayâmi*, Zend *varĕdayĕmi*, "I make to grow," "I increase." The Sclavonic verb has retained the affix *t*, whence the radical *d* must become *s*. As, however, the primitive verb had already an *a*, an augmentation of the vowel in the causal was impossible. Compare also the Sanscrit *ṛidh* (from *ardh*), "to grow," which is probably an abbreviation of *vardh*.

вѣшти *vyes-i-ti* "to suspend," (*vis-ye-ti*, "to hang"), *na-po-i-ti*, "to give to drink" (*na* prep., *pi-ti*, "to drink"), *po-ko-i-ti*, "to quiet," (*po-chi-ti*, "to rest"). As the Sclavonic ѣ *ye* is the usual representative of the Sanscrit ए *ê*=*ai* (see §. 255. e.), so is the vowel relation between *vyes-i-ti*, "to suspend," and the root *vis*, "to hang," like that of the Sanscrit *vêś-ayâ-mi*, "I make to enter," to *viśâmi*, "I go in." The Sclavonic root *vis* is also probably identical with the Sanscrit *viś*, which, in combination with the prep. नि *ni* in the causal, signifies, among other things, "to adjoin," "to annex," and brings us, therefore, very near the signification of the Sclavonic causal, viz. "to suspend," as generally the Sclavonic and Sanscrit roots meet one another in the idea of "approaching" (आविश् *âviś* means "to approach," उपविश् *upaviś*, "to place oneself"). The formal relation of (*na*)*poiti*, "to give to drink," to *piti*, "to drink," cannot be correctly measured without taking in the Sanscrit; for from a Sclavonic point of view it would seem as if *poiti* had arisen from *piti* by the insertion of an *o*, while, in fact, the *o* of *poiti* rests on the Sanscrit *â* of the root *pâ*, to which corresponds the Greek ω of πῶ-θι, πέπωκα, and the *o* of ἐπόθην, as also the Latin *ô* of *pô-tum*, *pô-turus*, and the Old Prussian *uo* of *puo-ton*, "to drink": the *i* of *piti* is based, like the ῑ of the Greek πῑ-θι, πίνω, on the weakening which has already occurred in Sanscrit of *pâ* to *pî*, whence the passive *pî-yatê*, "*bibitur*," the perf. pass. part. *pî-ta-s*, "drunken," and the gerund *pî-tvâ*, "having drunk." The Sclavonic causal has, according to the general principle, preserved in *po* the heavier vowel of the root, and that which stands nearer to the original *â*. The relation of *po-koiti*, "to quiet" (*po-ko-i-ti*, *po* prep.), to *po-chi-ti*, "to rest," is, however, of a different kind. For if, as I doubt not, Miklosich is right (Radices linguæ Sclav. p. 36) in comparing the Sclavonic root чи *chi* with the Sanscrit *śî* (from *kî*), "to lie," "to sleep," it must then be

observed that the said Sanscrit root, as also the kindred Greek root κεῖμαι, assumes an irregular Guna augment, which extends throughout, and which appears in Greek either in the form of κει, or in that of κοι (κοίτη, κοί-τος, κοιμάω, see §. 4.). To the latter form corresponds the Sclavonic *ko* of *po-ko-i-ti*, where, however, the radical vowel is lost, for the following *i* is the expression of the causal relation.

742. The form *i*, in which, in Old Sclavonic, the causal character for the most part appears, corresponds exactly to the form into which, in Gothic, the causal *ya* contracts itself before the appended auxiliary verb of the preterite (see §. 623), and before the suffix of the pass. participle; therefore, as we have in Gothic, *sat-i-da*, "I placed," *sat-i-th'-s*, "placed" (Gen. *sat-i-di-s*); so in Sclavonic, *sad-i-ti*, "*plantare*," *sad-i-ty*, "*plantat*," *sad-i-shi*, "*plantas*," *sad-i-m*, "*plantamus*," *sad-i-te*, "*plantatis*." In the 1st per. sing. and 3d per. pl. of the pres. ѭ *yû* (from *yo-m*), ѩть *yaty* (from *yanty*), corresponds to the Gothic *ya*, *yand*, Sanscrit *ayâ-mi*, *aya-nti*, provided that euphonic laws do not introduce an alteration, as is the case, *e.g.*, in сажⷣ *saschdû* for *sadyû*. In the imperative (see §. 626.) the causal character is lost in the mood exponent; hence *sadi*, "*plantes*," "*plantet*" (Goth. *satyais*, *satyai*), сади *sadyem*, "*plantemus*," садѣте *sadyete*, "*plantetis*" (Goth. *satyaima*, *satyaith*), as *nesi*, "*feras*," "*ferat*." With regard to the preterite of the Old Sclavonic causal, corresponding to the Sanscrit aorist see §. 561., where, however, the *i* of бⷣдиχ *bûd-i-ch*, "I did wake," corresponds, not to the Sanscrit *i* of *abôdh-i-sham*, "I did know," but, as has already been remarked (§. 562.), to the exponent of the causal relation; while in Sanscrit the aorist is, with the exception of the precative active corresponding to the Greek aorist optative, the sole tense in which the Sanscrit divests itself of the character *aya* (in the universal tenses *ay*). As, however, all causals assume the reduplicated form of the aorist (see §. 580.), so the incumbrance of the

root by the reduplication, combined with the augment, is perhaps the reason of the loss of the causal character: perhaps even the reduplication is held as compensating for the causal expression, just as, in Latin, *sisto*, opposed to the unreduplicated and intransitive *sto*, or as in *gigno* = Sanscrit *jajanmi*, "I beget," opposed to *nascor* from *gnascor*.

743. The Lithuanian very seldom uses for the formation of causals from primitive verbs the forms contrasted in §. 506. with the Sanscrit अय *aya*. The only examples which occur to me are *źindau*, "I cause to suck," from *źindu*, "I suck," and *gráu-yu*, "I pull down (make to fall in) a house," from *grûw-u*, "I fall in like a house." The *w* of *grûw-u* appears to be only a developement from the *û*, as, in Sanscrit, forms like *babhûva*, "I was," "he was," from *bhû*. If we take *grû* as the root, the causal form *gráu-yu* corresponds in its vowel increment to Sanscrit causals like *bhâv-ayâ-mi*, "I make to be," "I bring into existence," from *bhû*, "to be." The usual termination of Lithuanian causals is *inu* (pl. *ina-me*), by which, as in Sanscrit by *aya*, are formed denominatives also, as *e.g.*, *ilg-inu*, "I make long," a denominative causal from *ilg-a-s*, "long." The *n* of these forms, in departure from that mentioned above (§. 496.), extends over all tenses and moods, as well as to the participles and the infinitive; for I cannot agree with Mielcke (p. 98. 10.), in considering it to be a deviation from this rule, that before *s* (according to Sanscrit principles) it passes into the weakened nasal sound, which I express, like the Sanscrit *anusvâra*, by *ṅ* (see §. 10.); thus, *e.g.*, *laup-siṅ-su*, "I will praise."

744. The Lithuanian formations in *inu* agree with the Sanscrit, Zend, German, and Sclavonic causal verbs in this, that they love a heavy vowel in the root; so that many have preserved an original *a*, while the primitive has corrupted that vowel to *i* or *e*; whence they appear to us exactly in the light of the German Ablaut system (see p. 38, Note).

Thus, as *e.g.*, in Gothic, to the intransitive *sita*, "I sit" (which is a weakened form from *sata*), corresponds a preterite *sat*, and a causal *satya*, "I place"; so in Lithuanian, to the neuter verb *mirsztu*, "I die," answers a causal *marinu*, "I cause to die" (Scr. *mârayâmi*, Sclav. *moryû*); and to the *gem-mu* (from *gem-yu*), "I am born," represented above (§. 501.) as passive, corresponds a causal *ga-minu*, "I beget." The following are causals, with *a* answering to the *e* of the corresponding intransitive: *gadinu*, "I ruin," "kill," opposed to *gendu*, *nagendu*, "I am ruined"; *kankinu*, "I vex," opposed to *kenchiu*, "I suffer." In the Lithuanian causals also, in place of the organic *a*, *o* is found answering to the *e* of the intransitive (as in Sclav., §. 742.); for example, in *sodinu*, "I plant," answering to *sĕdmi*, "I sit." There is much that is interesting in the vowel relation of *pa-klaidinù*, "I mislead," "bring into error," to *pa-klystu*, "I mislead myself" (euphon. for *pa-klyd-tu*), for the *y* is, in pronunciation, identical with *i*; so *pa-klaidinu*, in respect to its Guna form, corresponds very well to the Gothic causals like *hnaivya*, "I humble," and Sanscrit, as *vêdayâmi* (=*vaidayâmi*), "I make to know" (see 109.ª 16.). The same is the case with *at-gaiwinu*, "I quicken" (properly "I make to live," compare *gywas*, "living," Sanscrit *jîv*, "to live"), the primitive of which, "I recover myself," "become fresh again," "lively," is probably an abbreviation of *at-giwjù*; *waidinû-s*, "I shew myself" (see §. 476.), contains a stronger Guna vowel than *weizdmi*, "I see," and corresponds to the just-mentioned Sanscrit causal *vêdayâmi*. An example of the manner in which a Lithuanian causal has, just like its corresponding intransitive, corrupted an original *a* to *e*, is *deginu*, "*uro*," answering to the intransitive *degu**, "*ardeo*."

* In Sanscrit the fourth Class of the root *dah* (*dahyâmi* "*ardeo*") represents the intransitive meaning, and the first Class (*dahâmi* "*uro*") the transitive On the latter is based the Irish *daghaim* "*uro*."

745. The circumstance that the Lithuanian formation *ina* (1st per. sing. *inu*), like the Sanscrit *aya*, forms as well causals as denominatives, and that the causals so formed, like the Sanscrit, German, and Sclavonic, prefer a powerful radical vowel, gives us ground, (in variance from the assertion set forth at the end of §. 495. which I gladly retract), for seeking to compare the Lithuanian *ina* and Sanscrit *aya*. We might in the *i* of *ina* recognise the weakened form of an original *a*, as it appears also in the forms mentioned at §. 506. in *iyu*, *iya*. The *n*, then, as semi-vowels are easily interchanged, must be held to be a corruption of य् *y**. The *i*, however, of *ina*, *inu*, as in the forms in *iu*, plural *i-me* (*myl-i-me*, "we love" §. 506.), might correspond to the Sanscrit *y* of the derivative *aya*; so that, *e.g.*, the syllable *in* of *sod-in-ti*, "to plant," would be identical with the *i* of the Sclavonic *sad-i-ti* of the same meaning, and with the Gothic *i* of *sat-i-ta*, "I placed," (compare §. 743.). The *n* of the Lithuanian form would then be an unorganic affix, like a rind which has grown upon the vowel termination of the verbal theme, according to the same principle by which, in German, so many nominal bases have received the affix of *n*; so that, *e.g.*, to the Sanscrit base *vidhavâ*, "a widow" (at the same time a nominative, see §. 137.), to the Latin *vidua*, and Sclavonic *vdova*, corresponds a Gothic base *viduvôn* (Nom. *-vô*, §. 140.); and to the Sanscrit feminine participial bases in *antî* respond Gothic bases in *andein* (Nom. *andei*). If this view be taken, we must then assume that the verbal theme of *sodi* (Sanscrit *sâdaya*), extended to *sodiu*, has taken up the character of the Sanscrit first conjugational Class, and

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* See §. 20. As regards the transition of the *y* into another liquid, remark the relation of the German *Leber* (labial for guttural, as in Greek ἦπαρ, see Graff, II. p. 80) to the Sanscrit *yakrit* (from *yakart*) and Latin *jecur*. With respect to the transition of *l* to *n*, observe, *e. g.*, the relation of the Doric ἦνθον to ἦλθον.

has thus entered into the Lithuanian first conjugation; thus *sodin-a-me,** "we plant," as *suk-a-me*, "we turn." In favour of the first mode of explanation might be adduced the circumstance that, together with *szlowinu*, "I praise," "extol," exists a *szlówiyu*,† which latter is clearly identical with the Sanscrit *śrâvayâmi*, "I make to hear," and Russian слáвлю *slavlyû*, "I laud." Since in Latin, as I think I have clearly proved, three conjugations—the first, second, and fourth—correspond to the Sanscrit tenth Class, we have reason to look among these for the Latin causals, as already (p. 110.) *moneo* has been compared with the Sanscrit *mânayâmi* and Prâkrit *mâṇêmi*, "I make to think." The causal meaning, however, is no longer apparent in the Latin *moneo*, as it has not any primitive verb corresponding to it, from which it might have been derived in a regular way, and one, as it were, often trodden for similar purposes; for *memini* may be regarded as a sister form connected with it, both in sound and sense, but not as the parent of which it is the offspring. *Sedo*, which corresponds to the Sanscrit causal *sâdayâmi* and its German-Sclavonic sister forms (*sed-â-s* = सादयसि *sâd-a(y)a-si*), might, according to the sense, be regarded as the causal of *sedeo;* but the latter is in form likewise a causal, and there is a want of other analogous cases for the formation of causals by the change

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* Ruhig doubles the *n* of *laupsinu* in both the plural numbers and in the third person singular of the present and perfect. Mielcke, on the other hand, makes no remark, p. 98, 10. with regard to the necessity of such a reduplication, where it does not already occur in the first person singular of the present. For the rest it may be remarked, that liquids especially are easily doubled, and that, *e.g.*, in Sanscrit a final *n*, if preceded by a short vowel, is doubled in case the word following begins with a vowel.

† The kindred *klausau*, "I listen," has, like the Greek κλύω, preserved the original guttural, which in *szluwiyu*, as in the Sanscrit *śru*, has been corrupted to a sibilant.

from the second to the first conjugation. In Latin, therefore, the three verbs *sido*, *sedeo*, and *sedo*, can only be regarded as three kindred verbs, which, each in its own way, are referable to the Sanscrit root *sad*. To the Sanscrit *trâsayâmi*, (Prâkr. *tâsêmi*), "I make to tremble," "to fear," "I terrify," corresponds *terreo* by assimilation for *terseo*, from *treseo*. The fourth conjugation presents *sôpio* as a form fairly analogous to the Sanscrit causal *svâpayâmi*, "I make to sleep," (*svapimi*, "I sleep," irregular for *svapmi*), Old Northern *svepium*, "*sopimus*," (singular *svep*), Old High German *in-suepiu*, Russian усыпаю *usyplayu**. The causal notion, however, is lost in this *sôpio* also, as there is no intransitive *sŏpo* of the third conjugation corresponding to it as a point of departure. The German dialects have, indeed, preserved the primitive (Old High German *slâfu*). but it has become estranged from the causal by the exchange of the semi-vowel *v* for *l* (see §. 20.). In Russian, on the other hand, спаю *splyu*, "I sleep" (euphonic for *spyu*), corresponds, as verb of the Sanscrit fourth Class (see §. 500.), to the causative *u-syplayu* (*u* preposition), the *y* of which is based on the Sanscrit *u* of contracted forms like *sushupima*, "we slept," *supta*, "having slept;" with which, also, may be compared the Greek ὑπ of ὕπνος. I here place opposite to one another the corresponding forms of the Latin and Old High German languages for comparison with the Sanscrit *svâpayâmi* and its potential *svâpayê-y-am* (see §. 689.):

svâp-ayâ-mi,	*sôp-io,*	*in-suep-iu.*
svâp-aya-si,	*sôp-i-s,*	*in-suep-i-s.*
svâp-aya-ti,	*sôp-i-t,*	*in-suep-i-t.*
svâp-ayâ-mas,	*sôp-i-mus,*	*in-suep-ia-m.*
svâp-aya-tha,	*sôp-i-tis,*	*in-suep-ia-t.*
svâp-aya-nti,	*sôp-iu-nt,*	*in-suep-ia-nt.*

* The *l* is only a euphonic affix required by *p*; *ayu* therefore=*ayâmi*

*svâp-ayê-y-am,**	*sôp-ia-m,*		*in-suep-ie.*‡
svâp-ayê-s,	*sôp-iê-s,*†	*sôp-iâ-s,*	*in-suep-iê-s.*
svâp-ayê-t,	*sôp-ie-t,*	*sôp-ia-t,*	*in-suep-ie.*
svâp-ayê-ma,	*sôp-iê-mus,*	*sôp-iâ-mus,*	*in-suep-iê-mês.*
svâp-ayê-ta,	*sôp-iê-tis,*	*sôp-iâ-tis,*	*in-suep-iê-t.*
svâp-ayê-y-us,	*sôp-ie-nt,*	*sôp-ia-nt.*	*in-suep-iê-n.*

746. In the Latin first Conjugation, which has preserved the two extremes of the Sanscrit causal character *aya* in the contraction *â*, the verbs *necâre, plôrâre, lavâre* and *clamâre*, as well as the above-mentioned *sedâre*, present themselves as genuine causals, both in signification and in origin, though they are no longer perceived to be such by the genius of the language, since their primitive has either been lost or estranged in form. *Necare*, which, specially regarded from a Roman point of view, must be taken as the denominative of *nex* (*nec-s*), corresponds to the Sanscrit *nâś-ayâ-mi* "*perire facio*," causal of *naś-yâ-mi*, Cl. 4. *pereo*. Another form of नाशयामि *nâśayâmi*, with softened meaning, is *noceo*. In Greek *νέκυς* and *νεκρός* are to be referred to the Sanscrit root *naś*, from *nak*. I believe I am right in regarding *plôro* as a corruption of *plôvo* for the reason mentioned at §. 20. It would consequently correspond to the Sanscrit *plâvayâmi*; properly "I make to flow," from the root *plu*, "to flow," which, in the Latin *fluo*, has experienced an irregular phonetic modification; while in *pluit*, which belongs to the same root, the original tenuis is retained. In *lavare* (Greek λούω) one of the two combined initial consonants is lost; in other respects, however, *lavo* corresponds still better than *plôro* to the Sanscrit *plâvayâmi*, "to wash," "to sprinkle" (in middle "to wash oneself,") on which also is based the Old High German *flewiu*,§ "I

* See §. 689. † See §§. 691, 692. ‡ See §. 694.

§ This is, like *lavo* when compared with its intransitive *fluo*, estranged from the primitive *fliuzu*, "I flow," in that it has kept itself free from the inorganic *z* (see p. 114).

47959

wash." In Carniolan *plev-i-m*, "I water," "I dissolve" (Metelgo, p. 115.), is the regular causal from *plav-a-m*, "I swim" (=Sanscrit प्लवामि *plav-â-mi*). *Clamo* properly signifies (if I am right in explaining its *m* as a hardened form of *v* (see p. 115.), "I make to hear," and possesses, therefore, a concealed affinity to *cluo*, κλύω and is identical with the Sanscrit *śrâv-ayâ-mi* (*ś* from *k*), "I make to hear," "I speak," with the Zend *śrâv-ayê-mi* of the same meaning, the Carniolan *slav-i-m*, "I praise," (*sluyem* "I hear"), the Old Sclavonic слоВлѫ *slovlyû* (from *blagoslovlyû*, "I bless"), the Russian *slavlyu*, "I praise," and the Lithuanian *szlôwiyu*, id. (see §. 745.).

747. Roots, which in Sanscrit end in *â*, or in a diphthong to be changed into *â*, receive before *aya* the affix of a *p*; hence, *e.g.*, *sthâp-ayâ-mi*, "I make to stand," from *sthâ*; *yâp-ayâ-mi*, "I make to go," "I set in motion," from *yâ*. As labials in Latin are not unfrequently replaced by gutturals*, I believe, with Pott (Etymol. F. p. 195.), that the Latin *jacio* should be deduced fron *japio*, and be identified with the above-mentioned *yâp-ayâ-mi*; though properly only the *io* of the fourth, and not that of the third Conjugation (=Sanscrit य of the fourth Class), corresponds to the Sanscrit causal character. The agreement of forms like *capio*, *capiunt*, *capiam*, &c., and the analogous forms of the fourth Conjugation, might, however, easily favour a transition of the latter into the third. The same appears to me to be the case with *facio*, which I compare with the Sanscrit *bhâvayâmi*, "I make to be," "I bring into existence;" but in so doing I assume that the *e* is a hardening of the radical *v*† (see §. 19.), as roots in *û* in the Sanscrit causal never assume a *p*. The Gothic gives us *bau-a*, "I

* Compare, *e.g.*, *quinque* with *pañchan*, πέντε; *coquo* with *pachâmi*, πέσσω, Servian *pechem*, "I roast."

† From *û*—for *âu*, before vowels *âv*, is the Vriddhi form of *û*; see §. 39.

build." (from *bau-ai-m*), as the kindred form to the Sanscrit *bhâv-ayâ-mi* and Latin *facio:* in the second and third persons, therefore, the character *ai* of *bau-ai-s, bau-ai-th,* answers to the Sanscrit *aya* of *bhâv-aya-si, bhâv-aya-ti.* From a German point of view, however, we could as little perceive the connection between our *bauen,* "to build," and *bin,* "I am," as recognise in Latin the affinity of the roots of *fac-io* and *fu-i.* If, however, I am unable to compare the *c* of the said form with the Sanscrit causal *p,* still I think I can shew in Latin one more causal in which *c* takes the place of a Sanscrit *p,* viz. *doceo,* which I take in the sense of "I make to know," and regard as akin to *di-sco* (properly "I wish to know") and the Greek ἐδάην, διδάσκω. If the *d* of these forms has arisen from *g* (compare Δημήτηρ from Γημήτηρ), then *doceo* leads to the Sanscrit *jñâp-ayâmi,* "I make to know" (*jâ-nâ-mi,* "know," for *jñâ-nâ-mi*), and to the Persian *dâ-ne-m,* "I know". As an example of the Latin causal, in which the original *p* has remained unchanged, let *rapio* be taken, supposing it to correspond to the Sanscrit *râpayâmi,* "I make to give,"* from the root रा *râ,* "to give," which, in my opinion, is nothing but a weakening of *dâ.* There also occurs, together with *râ,* in the Vêda dialect, the form *râs,* just as, together with *dâ,* exists a lengthened form *dâs.* In its origin the root *lâ,* to which are ascribed the meanings "to give," and "to take," appears to be identical with *râ* and *dâ.*

748. To the roots which, in Sanscrit, irregularly annex a *p*

* The derivation (elsewhere admitted as possible) from *lup* (*lumpâmi*), "to rive," "break," "destroy" (compare Pott. I. 258), to which *rumpo* belongs, is less satisfactory, as *a* in this explanation must be taken as the Guna vowel, with the loss of the proper vowel of the root. The Latin, however, avoids the use of Guna, and generally retains the radical vowel rather than that of Guna; *e.g.* in *video,* which is based on the Sanscrit causal *vêdayâmi,* "I make to know," from the root *vid.*

in the causal, belongs ऋ *ṛi*, i.e. *ar* (see §. 1.), "to go," whence *arp-ayâ-mi*, "I move," "cast," "send" (*śarân arpayâmi*, "*sagittas mitto*"), with which, perhaps, the Greek ἐρείπω is connected,* which, however, as causal, should be ἐρέιπέω, or ἐρειπάω, or ἐρειπάζω (see. §§. 19. 109ᵃ. 6.). Inasmuch as the theme ἐρειπ has lost the true causal character, this verb has acquired quite the character of a primitive verb, just like ἰάπτω, which Pott has referred, in the same way as the previously mentioned Latin *jacio*, to the Sanscrit *yâp-ayâ-mi*, "I make to go." If ῥίπ-τω does not belong to *kship*,† "to throw," but, like the others, to *arpayâmi*, it is then a transposed form of ἰρπ-τω.

749. The Sanscrit root पा *pâ*, "to receive," "to rule," assumes, in the causal, *l*; hence *palâyâmi*. So, in the Greek βάλλω, στέλλω, ἰάλλω, the second λ of which appears to have arisen by assimilation from *y*, as ἄλλος from ἄλγος=Gothic *ALYA*, Latin *alius*, Sanscrit *anya-s* (see p. 401). Βάλλω, therefore, is for βάλγω, from βᾱ (see §. 109ᵇ. 1.), the radical vowel being shortened (ἔβᾰλον), which, however, in the transposition βλη (βέβλη-κα) has preserved its original length;

* Ρειπ might be taken as a transposed form of εἰρπ, and the ε as a vowel prefix, as, *e.g.*, in ἐλαχύ-ς=Sanscrit *laghu-s*. Observe, also, that the π of σάλπιγξ, which Sonne (Epilegomena to Benfey's Gr. Roots, p. 24), identifies with the Sanscrit causal *p*, belongs to a root, which in Sanscrit ends in *ar* (*ṛi*), viz. to *svar* (*svṛi*), to which Pott also (Et. F. p. 225) has referred it: σάλπιγξ, therefore, properly="making to sound." Should, too, the Lith. *szwilpinu*, "I whistle," notwithstanding its *sz* for *s*, belong here, then remark the shorter form adduced by Ruhig of the 3d per. sing. *szwilpya*, "the bird whistles," where *pia* corresponds to the Sanscrit forms in *payati*, such as *arpayati*, "he makes to go," "he moves."

† The derivation of *kship* pre-supposes an abbreviation of ῥίπτω from κρίπτω; so that ρ would have taken the place of the Sanscrit sibilant, as in κρείων, which Fr. Rosen has compared with the Sanscrit root *kshi*, "to rule"; see his Rig Vêda Sanhita, Annot. p. xi., where, too, κραιπνός is compared with *kshipra*, "swift" (from *kship*, "to cast"), and the Latin *crepusculum* with *kshapâ*, "night" (better with *kshapas*).

στέλλω, from στελγω (ἔσταλκα), for σταλγω, from στᾱ (ἵστᾱμι, ἵστημι)=Sanscrit *sthâ*, which, in combination with various prepositions, obtains the notion of movement*; ἰάλλω, from ἰαλγω, is to be referred, in a manner different from ἰάπτω, to the Sanscrit root या *yâ*, "to go," to which also belongs ἴημι, as reduplicated form for γιγημι (fut. ἥσω=यास्यामि *yâsyâmi*, compare Lithuanian *yó-su*, "I will ride"). Perhaps κέλ-λω from κελ-γω=Sanscrit *châlayâmi*, "I move," causal of the root चल् *chal*, "to move oneself;" perhaps, also, πάλ-λω, from παλ-γω, for παδγω=Sanscrit *pâdayâmi*, causal of *pad*, "to go," to the causal of which may be referred also the Latin *pel-lo* as by assimilation from *pel-yo*. All these forms, therefore, if our explanation of them be correct, have lost the initial *a* of the Sanscrit causal character *aya* of the special tenses, and are hereby removed, as it were, from the Sanscrit tenth Class to the fourth (compare Pott II. 45.). As in Greek, verbs in εω, αω (for εγω, αγω), αζω, are the proper representatives of the Sanscrit causal form or tenth Class; and as these extend their character also over the present and imperfect; so here, too, may καλέω be considered as a concealed causal, which, like the Latin *clâmo*, properly signifies "to make to hear," and answers to the Sanscrit *śrâvayâmi* (*ś* from *k*). Accordingly I take καλέω as a transposition of κλα-έω for κλαF-έω.

750. The Zend, it appears, has no part in the use of the *p*, which, according to §. 747., is, in the causal, to be added to roots in *â*; at least I know of no example where it is found: on the other hand, we find evidence of the discontinuance of the addition of a *p* in 𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀 *âštâya*, "make to come," "bring" (Vend. S. p. 55. several times)

* Observe, also, that together with *sthâ* there exists a root *sthal*, and with *pâ* a root *pal*. To *sthal* belongs our *stelle*, "place," Old High German *stella*, from *stelyu*; properly, "I make to stand"=Sanscrit *stâlayâmi*.

=Sanscrit *âsthâpaya*, from स्था *sthâ*, "to stand," with the preposition *â*, "to approach." In 𐎠𐎢𐎹𐎰 *âštâya*, from *âštâ-aya*, the *a* of derivation has coalesced with the radical vowel; so in Old Persian 𐎠𐎢𐎹𐎰𐏁 *avâštâyam* (from *ava-astâ-ayam*), "I restored" (Beh. I. 63. 66. 69.). In Prâkrit, on the other hand, those roots also which end in a consonant frequently take, in the causal, the said labial, in the softened form of *b*, where, however, the root is previously lengthened by the addition of an *a*; *e. g.*, *jîvâbêhi*, "make to live," *jîvâbêdu*, "let him make to live" (see Delius, Radices Prâkrit s. r. *jîv*). In Sanscrit also, in the unclassical language of popular tales, forms of this kind occur; and indeed *jîvâpaya*, for the just-mentioned *jîvâbêhi* (Lassen's Anthol. Sanscrit, p. 18), which latter surpasses the Sanscrit in the preservation of the imperative termination *hi* from *dhi*. In the 1st. per. sing. pres. is found, *l. c.*, *jîvâpayâmi* (Prâkrit *jîvâbêmi*), and in the part. perf. pass. *jîvâpitaḥ*=Prâkrit *jîvâbidâ*. Lassen, in mentioning these forms, remarks (Institut. linguæ Prâkrit, pp. 360, 361), that causals of this kind still exist in Mahratta; and I was surprised at finding myself able to trace the analogy of these formations even to the Iberian languages*; since in Latin, as G. Rosen remarks, the affix *ap* (only *p* after vowels) always gives a transitive meaning to verbs. Thus *gnap*, "to unveil," "to make evident," corresponds to the Sanscrit *jñâpayâmi*, "I make to know," while *gna*, "to understand," agrees with the Sanscrit root ज्ञा *jñâ*, "to know." In Georgian the said causal affix appears in the form *ab*, *eb*, *ob*, *aw*, *ew*, *ow*, without, however, the very numerous class of verbal bases which so terminate being regarded as causals in meaning, which cannot sur-

* See "*The Caucasian members of the Indo-European family of languages.*"

prise us, as in Latin also, and German, the form of the Sanscrit causals, or tenth Class, is so prevalent as to extend over three Conjugations in Latin, and the three Classes of the weak Conjugation in the German dialects (see §. 109ª. 6.).

DESIDERATIVES.

751. We now betake ourselves to the examination of the Sanscrit desideratives, which, as has been already elsewhere remarked,* are retained also in Greek; if not in signification, at least in form, in verbs like *βιβρώσκω, γιγνώσκω, μιμνήσκω, διδάσκω, δίδρασκω, τιτρώσκω, πιπίσκω, πιπράσκω, πιφαύσκω*, where the guttural is most probably, as in *ἔσκον* and the Old Latin future *escit*, only a euphonic accompaniment of the sibilant, which in all Sanscrit desideratives is appended to the root, either directly, or by means of a vowel of conjunction, *i*. The roots beginning with a vowel repeat the entire root, according to the principle of the seventh aorist formation (§. 585.); *e.g.*, *âsis-i-sh*,† "to wish to sit," as a weakened form of *âsâsish*; *arir-ish*, "to wish to go," for *ararish*, from ऋ*ar* (ऋ *ṛi*). So, in Greek, *ἀραρίσκω*. Roots which begin with a consonant repeat it or its euphonic representative, with the radical vowel, where, however, a long vowel is shortened, and the heaviest vowel *a* weakened to *i* (see §. 6.),‡ according to the same principle by which, in Latin, the *a* especially is excluded from syllables of repetition (see §. 583.). On this account the *i* prevails in repeated syllables, and the agreement

* Annals of Oriental Literature (London, 1820), p. 65.

† The appended sibilant is originally the dental (स *s*), but, according to §. 21., subjected to a mutation into *sh*.

‡ Though roots with *ṛi* in their middle receive an *i* in the repeated syllables, still this is based on the original form *ar*.

with the kindred forms in Greek is thus the more striking. We find, *e.g.*, *yuyutsâmi*, "I wish to contend" (R. *yudh*), *bubhûshâmi*, "I wish to adorn" (R. *bhush*), but not *jagadishâmi*, but *jigadishâmi*, "I wish to speak"; not *jajñâsâmi*, but जिज्ञासामि *jijñâsâmi*, Mid. *jijñâsê*, "I wish to know," "to learn," "to inquire." To जिज्ञासामि *jijñâsâmi* corresponds in form the Greek γιγνώσκω, and Latin (*g*)*no-sco*; which latter, like all similar Latin formations, has lost the reduplication. To *mimnâsâmi*, desiderative of *mnâ** (*memorare, nunciare, laudare*), corresponds μιμνήσκω, and the Latin *reminiscor*. In the special tenses the Sanscrit places an *a* by the side of the desiderative sibilant, which, according to the analogy of the *a* of the first and sixth Classes, is liable, in the first person, to production (see §. 434.), and also in Greek and Latin, in the same way as the said class-vowel is represented (see §. 109.* 1.). I give, for comparison, the present and imperfect active of जिज्ञासामि *jijñâsâmi* over against the corresponding forms of Greek and Latin.

PRESENT.

	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
Sing.	*jijñâ-sâ-mi,*	γιγνώ-σκω,	*no-sco.*
	jijñâ-sa-si,	γιγνώ-σκει-ς,	*no-sci-s.*
	jijñâ-sa-ti,	γιγνώ-σκει,	*no-sci-t.*
Du.	*jijñâ-sâ-vas,*	. . . . .	. . . .
	jijñâ-sa-thas,	γιγνώ-σκε-τον,	. . . .
	jijñâ-sa-tas,	γιγνώ-σκε-τον,	. . . .
Plur.	*jijñâ-sâ-mas,*	γιγνώ-σκο-μες,	*no-sci-mus.*
	jijñâ-sa-tha,	γιγνώ-σκε-τε,	*no-sci-tis.*
	jijñâ-sa-nti,	γιγνώ-σκο-ντι,	*no-scu-nt.*

* Clearly only a transposed form of *man*, "to think," with the radical vowel lengthened, as, *e.g.*, in Greek, βέβληκα from βαλ, πέπτωκα from πετ.

IMPERFECT.

	SANSCRIT.	GREEK.	LATIN.
Sing.	*ajijñâ-sa-m,*	ἐγίγνω-σκο-ν,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-s,	ἐγίγνω-σκε-ς,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-t,	ἐγίγνω-σκε,	. . . .
Du.	*ajijñâ-sâ-va,*	. . . . .	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-tam,	ἐγιγνώ-σκε-τον,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-tâm,	ἐγιγνω-σκέ-την,	. . . .
Plur.	*ajijñâ-sâ-ma,*	ἐγιγνώ-σκο-μεν,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-ta,	ἐγιγνώ-σκε-τε,	. . . .
	ajijñâ-sa-n,	ἐγιγνώ-σκο-ν,	. . . .

In the universal tenses Sanscrit desideratives lay aside only the vowel which is added to the sibilant; while in Greek and Latin the whole formation extends only to the special tenses; and, *e.g.*, γνώ-σω springs from the simple unreduplicated root, and hence stands in no closer analogy to the Sanscrit *jijñâs-i-shyâmi.* That in Latin the future *noscam* departs from the Greek arises from this—that the future of the third and fourth conjugations, according to its origin, is only a mood of the present; and hence, *e.g.*, *noscês* corresponds to the Sanscrit *jijñâsês,* and Greek γιγνώσκοις.

752. It may reasonably be conjectured that the desiderative form is no stranger in Zend, but I am unable to furnish satisfactory examples. Perhaps the forms 𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐 *jijisaṇuha* and 𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐 *jijisâiti,* in the Fifteenth Fargard of the Vend. (Vend. S., p. 431, Anq., p. 393), are to be referred here. The first-mentioned form, which Anquetil translates "*est vivante,*" is evidently, like the 𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐 *pĕrĕšaṇuha,* "ask," which follows it, an imperative middle; and 𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐 *jijisâiti,* which Anquetil renders "*on s'approchera,*" is, like the 𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐 *pĕrĕsâiti,* "*interroget,*" which follows it, the 3d per. sing. of the conjunctive active. Perhaps 𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐 *jijisaṇuha* may correspond to the Sanscrit जिज्ञासस्व *jijñâsasva,* "inform thyself," and 𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬐 *jijisâiti* be based on a to-be-pre-

supposed Lêṭ-form जिज्ञासाति *jijñâsâti?* I will not venture to decide this point, any more than as to the forms which occur in the same page of the Vend. S., 𐬨𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬴 *mimarĕsaṇuha*, and 𐬨𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬴 *mimarĕcsâiti*, which likewise have the appearance of desideratives. As regards the origin of the desiderative character *s*, it is probable it springs, like the *s* of the auxiliary future and of the aorist of primitive verbs, from the root *as* of the verb substantive. Compare, *e. g.*, *didik-shâmi*, "I wish to shew," with *dêkshyâmi*, "I will shew," and *adidik-sham*, "I wished to shew," with the aorist *adik-sham*, and the imperatives of the aorist mentioned above (§. 727.) like *bhûsha*, *nêshatu*.

INTENSIVES.

753. Besides desideratives, there is in Sanscrit another class of derivative verbs, which receive a reduplication, viz. intensives.* These require a great emphasis on the syllable of reduplication, and hence increase the vowels capable of Guna, even the long ones, by Guna, and lengthen *a* to *â*; *e. g.*, *vêvêśmi* (or *vêviśâmi*), plural *vêviśmas*,* from *viś*, "to enter;" *dêdîpmi* (or *dêdîpîmi*) from *dîp*, "to shine;" *lôlôpmi* (or *lôlupîmi*) from *lup*, "to cut off;" *bôbhûshmi* (or *bôbhûshîmi*) from *bhûsh*, "to adorn;" *śâśakmi* (*śâśakîmi*), from *śak*, "to be able." As in Greek ω is a very frequent representative of long *α* (see §. 4.), so, as has been elsewere remarked Glossarium, Sanscr. a. 1830, p. 113), τωθάζω has quite the build of a Sanscrit intensive, only that it is introduced into the ω conjugation. In παιπάλλω, δαιδάλλω,

* After the analogy of verbs of the third Class, regard being had to the weight of the personal terminations (see §. 486.). To the light terminations, beginning with a consonant, ĭ may be prefixed as conjunctive vowel, when, however, the Guna of the base syllable is dropped; hence, *e.g.*, *vêviśâmi*.

παιφάσσω, μαιμάζω, μαιμάσσω, the insertion of an ι in the syllable of repetition supplies the place of the lengthening of the fundamental vowel; so in ποιπνύω (R. πνυ, πνέω, from πνεϝω, fut. πνεύσω), μοιμνάω, μοιμύλλω, where the υ of the root is, in the syllable of repetition, replaced by ο, since υι does not form a convenient diphthong. On this analogy rests also δοίδυξ and κοικύλλω.

754. Roots beginning with a vowel, of which only a few possess an intensive, repeat the whole root twice, in such a manner that the radical *a* is lengthened in the second place; hence *aṭâṭ* from *aṭ*, "to go," *aśâś* from *aś*, "to eat." I believe I recognise a clear counterpart to these intensive bases in the Greek ἀγωγ, though this forms no verb, but only some nominal forms, as ἀγωγός, ἀγωγεύς. The case of the ω for ᾱ is just the same as in the above-mentioned τωθάζω. On the other hand, in ὀνίνημι, ὀπιπτεύω, ἀτιτάλλω, the base syllable has experienced a weakening of the vowel, like that which enters into Sanscrit desideratives (§. 751. ad init.), which does not, however, prevent me from referring these forms, according to their origin, rather to intensives than to desideratives (compare Pott II. p. 75); so also ἀλαλάζω and ἐλελίζω exhibit the same weight of vowel in the base and in the syllable of repetition.

755. Roots, also, which begin with a consonant and end with a nasal, in case they have *a* as the base vowel, repeat the whole root twice in the Sanscrit intensive, but lengthen the radical vowel neither in the syllable of repetition nor in that of the base. The nasal, in accordance with a universal rule of sound, is influenced in the former syllable, so as to conform itself to the organ of the following consonant; and in roots which begin with two consonants, only one enters into the syllable of repetition; hence, *e.g.*, *dandram* from *dram*, "to run;" *bambhram* from *bhram*, "to wander about;" जङ्गम् *jangam* from *gam*, "to go." So in Greek, παμφαίνω from φαίνω, the ν of which, though not be-

longing to the root, is nevertheless reflected in the syllable of repetition (see §. 598.). On जङ्गम् *jangam* is based, I believe, the Gothic *gagga* (*i.e. ganga*, see §. 89. 1.); so that therefore *gam*, in the syllable of the root, has lost the termination *am**, and *gagg* has entirely assumed the character of a root, which in High German has produced a new reduplication (Old High German, *giang* from *gigang*, our *gieng*, see §. 592.). And in the formation of the word, *gang* holds as an independent root; whence, in Gothic, *gaḥ-ts*†, "gait" (*inna-gahts, fram-gahts*). The Lithuanian presents *żengiu* "I step," as analogous form‡.

756. Some Sanscrit roots also, which do not end in a nasal in the intensive, introduce a nasal into the syllable of repetition; *e.g., chañchal* (or *châchal*) from *chal*, "to move oneself;" *pamphul* from *phal*, "to burst," with the weakening of the *a* to *u* in the base syllable; so *chañchur* from *char*, "to go." As liquids are easily interchanged, it may be assumed that here the nasal of the repeated syllable is only a changed form of the radical liquid *l* or *r*. So in many Greek reduplicated forms; as, *πίμπλημι, πίμπρημι, γιγγραίνω, γίγγλυμος, γαγγαλίζω, γάγγραινα, τονθορύζω, ταντταλεύω, τενθρηδών, πεμφρηδών*. The following are examples in which the liquids remain unchanged in the syllable of repetition: *μαρμαίρω, μορμύρω, μέρμερος, μερμαίρω, μερμηρίζω, καρκαίρω, γαργαίρω, βορβορύζω, πορφύρα, πορφύρω*. Compare with these the intensives of those Sanscrit roots in *ar* which contract this syllable in the weakened forms to ऋ *ri*: these, in the active of the intensive, repeat the whole root twice, except when this begins with two consonants, in

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* The final *a* is the class syllable; 3d per. pl. *gagg-a-nd*.

† Euphonic for *gag-ts*, the nasal being rejected. With respect to the suffix, compare the Sanscrit *ga-ti-s*, "gait," for *gan-ti-s*, see §. 91.

‡ In Lithuanian *ż* often stands for the Sanscrit *g* or *j*. Compare, *e.g.*, *żodas*, "speech," with the Sanscrit *gad*, "to speak."

which case only one enters into the syllable of repetition; *e.g.*, *dar-dhar-mi*, pl. *dar-dhṛi-mas*, from *dhar*, *dhṛi*, "to stop," "to carry;" but *sâsmarmi*, according to the universal principle, from *smar*, *smṛi*, "to remember." To *dardharmi*, potential *dardhṛiyâm*, 3d. per. *dardhriyât* (from *dardharyâm*, *dardharyât*), corresponds the Zend. *darĕdairyât** in a passage of the Vendidad (Vend. S. p. 463.) . 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬙 . 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬙 -𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎 . 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 . 𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬯 . 𐬐𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 . 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 𐬐𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 *yatha vĕhrkô chathwarĕzangrô barĕthryât hacha puthrĕm nischdarĕdairyât* "as the fourfooted wolf tears away (carries off) the child (the son) of her who bore him (the mother?): according to Anquetil (p. 407), "*comme le loup à quatre pieds enleve et déchire l'enfant de celle qui a porté (cet enfant)*". If, however, 𐬉𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎 *nischdarĕdairyât* does not come from the Sanscrit root *dhar*, *dhṛi*, it springs from दॄ *dar* (दॄ *dṛi*), "to split," "tear asunder" (Gr. δέρω, Gothic *taira*); whence, in the Vêda dialect, the intensive *dardar* (see Westerg. R. दॄ *dṛi*), in classical Sanscrit *dâdar*. The first derivation, however, appears to me far the more probable: at all events, the form in question is a sure proof that in Zend also intensives are not wanting.

757. Some Sanscrit roots, which have a nasal as their last letter but one, take this in the syllable of repetition; hence, *e.g.*, *bambhanjmi* from *bhanj*, "to break;" *dandaṅśmi* from *daṅś*, "to bite" (Gr. δακ); *chan-î-skandmi* from *skand*, "to mount" (Lat. *scando*); the latter with *î* as vowel of conjunction between the syllable of reduplication and that of the base, as also in some other roots of this kind, and at will, also, in those roots in *ar* which admit a contraction to *ṛi*, and which nevertheless may assume a short *i* instead of a long one; hence, *e.g.*, *char-î-karmi*, or *char-i-karmi*, with *char-karmi*, from *kar*, *kṛi* "to make."

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* With regard to the *ĕ* inserted in *darĕdairyât*, see §. 44.

758. The intensive forms *pan-î-pad* and *pan-î-pat*, from *pad*, "to go," and *pat*, "to fall" (Pân. VII. 4. 84.), appear obscure. In explanation of these it may be assumed, that together with पद् *pad* and पत् *pat* there have existed also the forms *pand* and *pant* with a nasal, as together with many other roots which terminate in a simple mute there exist also those which have prefixed also to their mute the nasal corresponding to their organ; as, *e.g.*, *panth* with *path*, "to go."* Together with *dah*, "to burn," exists also a root दंह् *daṁh*; and hence may be deduced the intensive form *dandah* (Pan. VII. 4. 86.), to which the Gothic *tandya*, "I kindle" (with the causal character *ya*, see §. 741.), has the same relation, as above (§. 755.) *gagga* = *ganga*, "I go," to *jangam*.†

759. In Latin, *gingrio* has the appearance of a Sanscrit intensive, and is by Pott also referred here, and radically

* With *panth* are connected the strong cases of *pathin*, "way," as also the Latin *pons*, *pont-is*, as "way over a river," and the Slavonic ПѢТЬ *puty*, "way" (see §. 225ᴿ.): with *path* is connected, amongst other words, the Greek *πάτος* (see Glossarium Sanscr. a. 1847, p. 206).

† With regard to the *t* for *d* of *tandya*, see §. 87. The retention of the second *d* of the Sanscrit form *dandah* is to be ascribed to the influence of the *n* preceding it (compare §. 90.). Remark, also, the form *sandya*, "I send," in which I think I recognise the causal of the Sanscrit root *sad*, "to go," (*sâdayâmi*, "I make to go,") with a nasal inserted. Graff sets up (IV. p. 685) for the Old High German a root *zand* (*z* for Gothic *t*, and *t* for *d*, according to §. 87.), which he likewise endeavours to compare with the Sanscrit *dah*, but without finding any information as to the *n* and *t* through the intensive form दन्दह् *dandah*. On the primitive root *dah*, if not on the causal form *dâhay*, is based also the Old High German *dâh-t* or *tâh-t* (our *Docht*, *Dacht*), which by more exact retention of the radical consonants is completely estranged from the intensives (in meaning causals) *zand* or *zant*. Initial Mediæ remain in German frequently unaltered, *e.g.*, in the above-mentioned *gagga*, "I go," = *jangam*; while the Gothic root *qvam*, "to come" (*qvima*, *qvam*), which is based on the primitive *gam*, has experienced the regular change of Mediæ to Tenues.

compared with *gṝ*, i. e *gar*, *gir* (whence *gir*, "voice"). The syllable of reduplication exhibits *n* for *r*, as in Sanscrit *chañchur*, and similar Greek forms (§. 756.). To *girâmi* (also *gilâmi*), "*deglutio*," belong, amongst other words, the Latin *gula* and *gurgulio*, which latter, in its repeated syllable, replaces the liquid *l* by *r*.

760. The passive form of the Sanscrit intensive has usually an active meaning, and then, by Indian Grammarians, is regarded according to its formation, not as passive, but as a particular form of the intensive, which I nevertheless call deponent, as in its origin it is evidently nothing else than passive. This appears more frequently in classical Sanscrit as the form without *ya*, yet still seldom enough. I know of no examples besides चञ्चूर्यन्ते *chañchûryantê*, "they convey" (Mah. I. 1910.), from चर् *char* (see §. 756.), *lêlihyasê*, "thou lickest," from *lih* (Bhagavad-G. 11. 30.); *dêdîpyamâna*, "shining," from *dîp* (Nal. 3. 12. Draup. 2. 1.). In *dôdhûyamâna* (l. c.), from *dhû* or *dhu*, the passive form has also a passive signification. Of the form without *ya* there occurs the participle present *lêlihat*, Mid. *lêlihâna* "licking," Mah. III. 10391, 12240. The Vêda dialect makes more frequent use of the active form of the intensive: the following are examples: *nânadati*, "they sound,"* Rig. V. I. 64. 8. 11.; *abhipra-ṇônumas*, "we praise," from *nu* (prep. *abhi*, *pra*, l. c. 78. 1.); *jôhavîmi*, "I summon," with *î* as vowel of conjunction (see §. 753. note), from *hu*, as contracted form of *hvê*, l. c. 34. 12.; *â-navînôt*, "he moved," "stirred," from *nud*, "to move," "to drive" (prep. *â*), Rig. V. V.†

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* All reduplicated forms, which combine the personal terminations direct with the root, suppress the *n* of the 3d per. pl. (compare §. 459.). To the root *nad* corresponds the Welch *nadu*, "to cry."

† See Westerg., Radices, p. 45, and root *nu*, to which *ânavînôt* likewise, according to its form, might belong; the meaning, however, in the passage

DENOMINATIVES.

761. Denominatives are not so frequently used in Sanscrit as in the kindred languages of Europe. Their formation is effected either by the addition of the character of the 10th Class, or by the affix *ya*, *sya*, and *asya*; both which latter ought probably to be divided into *s-ya* and *as-ya*, so that in them the root of the verb substantive *as* is contained, either entire or after dropping the vowel (compare §. 648.). As the Latin verbs of the 1st, 2d, and 4th conjugations are based on the Sanscrit 10th Class (§. 109a. 6.), forms like *laud-â-s**, *nomin-â-s*, *lu-min-â-s*, *color-â-s*, *fluctu-â-s*, *æstu-â-s*, *domin'-â-s*, *regn'-â-s*, *sorori'-â-s*†, *cæn'-â-s*, *plant'-â-s*, *pisc-â-ris*, *alb'-ê-s*, *calv'-ê-s*, *can'-ê-s*, *miser'-ê-ris*, *ferŏc-î-s* *lasciv'-î-s*, *lipp'-î-s*, *abort'-î-s*, *fin'-î-s*, *sit'-î-s*, correspond to Sanscrit forms such as *kumâr'-aya-si*, "thou playest," from *kumâra*, "a boy;"‡ *sukh'-aya-si*, "thou

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sage cited leads to the root *nud*: the *t*, therefore, of the form in question is not a sign of the person, but radical (euphon. for *d*), since the personal character of the 2d and 3d pers. sing. of the imperf., according to §. 94., cannot combine with roots ending in a consonant; hence, *e.g.*, *ayunak*, "thou didst bind," and "he bound," for *ayunaksh*, *ayunakt* (see smaller Sanscrit Grammar, §. 289). With respect to the syllable of reduplication, the form *â-nav-â-nôt* for *ânônôt* is remarkable on account of the insertion of an *î*, as, according to grammatical rules, such an insertion occurs only after *r* and *n*, see §. 757., and smaller Sanscrit Grammar, §§. 500. 501. 508.

* I give the 2d per., as the 1st exhibits the conjugational character less plainly, and presents the least resemblance to the other persons.

† From *sororius*, not from *soror*; for from the latter would have come *sororo*, not *sororio*.

‡ The Indian Grammarians wrongly exhibit a root *kumâr*, "to play"—which, if only for the number of syllables, is suspicious—and thence derive *kumâra*, "a boy;" in which I recognise the prefix *ku*, which usually expresses "contempt," but here "diminution," and *mâra*, which does not occur by itself, but is joined with *martya*, "man," as "mortal." In general there occur, among the roots exhibited by Indian Grammarians, many

rejoicest," from *sukha*, "contentment;" *yôktr'-aya-si*, "thou encirclest," from *yôktra*, "band" (R. *yuj* "to bind"); *kshama-aya-si*, "thou supportest," from *kshama*, "patience." From these examples we see that in Sanscrit also the final vowel of the base word is rejected before the verbal character; for otherwise, *e.g.*, from *yôktra-aya-si* would come *yôktrâyasi*. That in Latin forms like *coen'-â-s* the *â* does not belong to the base noun is seen from this, that the final vowel of bases of the second declension is rejected before the verbal derivatives *â*, *ê*, and *î*; hence, *regn'-â-s*, *calv'-ê-s*, *lasciv'-î-s*. As to the retention, however, of the organic *u*, viz. that of the fourth declension before *â* (*aestu-â-s*, *fluctu-â-s*), I would remark, that in Sanscrit also *u* shews itself to be a very firm vowel, inasmuch as it maintains itself before the vowels of nominal derivative suffixes; and, indeed, it moreover receives the Guna increment, while *a* and *i*, *i.e.* the heaviest and lightest vowel, are dropped; hence, *e.g.*, *mânav-a-s*, "man" (as derived from *Manu*), from *manu*; शौचम् *śauch-a-m*, "purity," from शुचि *śuchi*, "pure;" *dâśarath-i-s*, "Son of Daśaratha," from *daśaratha*. Before *î*, however, in Latin, the *u* of the fourth declension disappears in denominative verbs, as in the above-mentioned *abort'-î-s*.

762. As a consequence of what has been said in the preceding §., I believe that a suppression of the vowel of the base noun is also to be assumed in Greek denominatives in αω, εω, οω, αζω, ιζω. I therefore divide, *e. g.*, ἀγορ'-άζω*, ἀγορ'-άο-μαι, μορφ'-όω, κνισσ'-όω, πολεμ'-όω, πολεμ'-έω,

many denominatives, amongst them also *sukh*, "to rejoice," which contains the prefix *su* (Gr. εὐ), as certainly as दुःख *dulikh*, "*dolore afficere*," (from *dulikha*, "smart,") contains the prefix *dus*=Greek δυς. By the Indian Grammarians, however, *dulikh* likewise is considered as a simple root.

* I have already, in §. 502., pointed out another mode of viewing the forms αζω and ιζω, but in §. 503. I have given the preference to the above

πολεμ'-ίζω, and recognise in the α of αζω the Sanscrit *a* of *ayâ-mi*, and in the ζ the corruption of य् *y*, as in ζεύγνυμι compared with the Sanscrit युज् *yuj* and Latin *jungo* (see §. 19.); while in forms in αω, εω, οω, the semi-vowel is suppressed; and, moreover, in the two last forms the very common corruption from α to ε, ο has taken place (§. 3.). It admits of scarce any doubt that in forms in ιζω also the ι is only a weakening of α; for though the weakening of *a* to *i* is not so frequent in Greek as in Latin and Gothic, still it is by no means unprecedented, and occurs, to quote a case tolerably similar to the one before us, in ἵζω, ἵζομαι, compared with the Sanscrit root *sad*, "to place oneself," Gothic *SAT*. (*sita*, "*sat*").

763. The lightness of the vowel *i* may be the reason why the form in ιζω has become more used than that in αζω, and that those bases which experience no abbreviation before the denominative derivative element by the relinquishment of their final letter admit scarce any letter but ι before ζ; hence, *e.g.*, ποδ-ίζω, ἀγων-ίζομαι, ἀκοντ-ίζω, ἀνδρ-ίζω, αἱματ-ίζω, ἁλοκ-ίζω, γυναικ-ίζω, θωρακ-ίζω, κυν-ίζω, μυωπ-ίζω, κερατ-ίζω, κερματ-ίζω, ἑρματ-ίζω; ἑρμ'-άζω, ὀνομ'-άζω, γουν'-άζομαι*, which, I think, ought not to be divided ἑρμά-ζω, ὀνομά-ζω; so easy is it, from the point of view of the Greek in particular, to identify the α of ἑρμάζω, ὀνομάζω, ἀγοράζω, ἀγοράομαι, and the like, with the α of the base noun. For then the analogy of these verbs with ἱππ'-άζομαι, λιθ'-άζω, εἰκ'-άζω (from the base εἰκοτ), ἐνδι'-άω, γενει'-άω, πελεκ'-άω, νεμεσ'-άω, and with the Sanscrit denominatives in *aya*, would be unnecessarily destroyed; for as ο and η, and occasionally υ and ι, are dropped

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above, and do so now with the greater confidence, as the other members also of our family of languages, the denominatives of which I had not then considered, follow the same principle.

* Not from γονυ, but from the base γουνατ, whence γούνατ-ος, γούνατ-α.

before the derivation αω, αζω*, there is nothing more natural than that α also should give way before the same. But as bases in α and η (from ᾱ, see §. 4.) produce principally denominatives in άω, άζω, and those in ο principally such as end in όω, ίζω, from this the influence of the final vowel of the base noun on the choice of the vowel of the derivative may be inferred; α and η favour the retention of the original α, while ο, which is itself a corruption of α, readily permits the α of the derivative to be weakened to ο, in which it seems to re-appear unchanged, but which (if we wish to allow in its full extent the transmission of apparently autochthonic Greek forms from the time of the unity of language) presents no obstacle to our placing on the same footing as regards their principle of formation, verbs like πολεμ(ο)-όω, χρυσ(ο)-όω, ἀγκυλ(ο)-όω, and such as αἱματ-όω, ἀῤῥεν-όω, πυρ-όω, κατοφρυ-όω, θαλασσ(α)-όω, κνισσ(α)όω, and to our recognising such verbs as ἀγορ(α)-άο-μαι, τολμ(α)άω, διψ(α)-άω, νικ(η)-άω, as analogous with κυν-άω, γενει(ο)-άω, λοχ(ο)-άω, ἀντι(ο)-άω, νεμεσ(ι)-άω, πελεκ(υ)-άω. The proposition appears to me incontrovertible that the Greek denominatives in αζω, αω, εω, οω, ιζω, correspond to the Sanscrit in *aya* (1st per. *ayâ-mi*, Zend *ayê-mi*); and that, as in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin, so also in Greek, the final vowel of the theme of the base noun is, for the most part, suppressed before the vowel of the derivative†: where, however, it is retained, which is only at times the case with ι and υ, the vowel of the verbal derivative also remains after it (δηρι-άο-μαι, ὀφρυ-όω, ἰχθυ-άω). Forms like δηρί-ο-μαι, μητί-ο-μαι, μηνί-ω, μεθύ-ω, δακρύ-ω, belong to another class of denominatives, which exists also in Sanscrit, of which hereafter.

764. In German, also, the final vowels of nominal bases

* Examples, in which ι and υ are retained, are κλανσι-άω, ὀκρι-άω, δηρι-άομαι, ἰχθυ-άω.

† G. Curtius is of a different opinion ("*Contributions to the Comparison of Language*," pp. 119, 120).

are suppressed before the vowel or *y* (for *ay*) of the verbal derivative, which is based on the Sanscrit *aya*; hence, in Gothic *audag'-ya*, "I account happy," from the base *audaga* (nom. *audag'-s*, see §. 135), "happy;" *gaur'-ya*, "I sadden," from *gaura*, nom. *gaur'-s*, "sad;" *skaft'-ya*, "I make," from *skafti*, "creation," nom. *skaft'-s*;" * *manv'-ya*, "I prepare," from *manvu*, nom. *manvu-s*, "ready;" *maurthr'-ya*, "I murder," from *maurthra*, nom. *maurthr* (see §. 153.) "murder;" † *tagr'-ya*, "I weep," from *tagra*, nom. *tagr'-s*, "a tear," (Greek δάκρυ, Sanscrit *aśru*, from *daśru*). Among those Gothic denominatives which have retained in the present the last syllable of the Sanscrit derivative *aya*, the verb *ufarskadv-ya*, "I overshadow," stands alone, since this verb has retained the final vowel of the base *skadu* (nom. *-us*) before the verbal derivative (with euphonic change into *v*), while other bases in *u* follow the general principle; hence, *thaurs'-yan*, "to thirst" (impers. *thaursyith mik*, I thirst," literally, "it is a thirst to me,") from *thaursu* (nom. *-us*), "dry;" *dauth'-ya*, "I slay," from *dau-thu-s*, "death;" ‡ as in Greek, θαναT'-όω from θανατο. The following are derivatives belonging here, and springing from bases ending in a consonant: *namn-ya*, "I name," from *naman* (nom. *namô*, see §. 141.); and *aug'-ya*, "I shew," from *augan* (nom. *augô*), "an eye." The former, like the Latin *nomin-o*, and Greek forms like αἱματ-όω, αἱματ-ίζω, preserves the final consonant of the base, but has, however, admitted an internal abbreviation, like that of the Sanscrit weakest

* This does not occur in the simple form, but compounded: *ga-skaft'-s*, "creation," "creature;" *ufar-skaft'-s*, "commencement."

† Compare Sanscrit *mâr-ayâmi*, "I make to die;" the Gothic suffix *thra*=Sanscrit *tra*, of which hereafter.

‡ Scarcely from *dauth(a)-s*, "dead," for the Old High German clearly comes from *tôd* (theme *tôda*), "death," not from *tôt* (nom. masc. *tôtêr*), "dead."

case (*nâmn-as*, "*nominis*"): on the other hand, *aug-ya* (for *augan-ya* or *augin-ya*) follows the principle already mentioned in §. 503., by which Sanscrit denominatives are governed, such as *varm'-ayâ-mi*, "I harness," for *varman-ayâ-mi*, from *varman*. Compare, besides the Greek formations discussed *l.c.*, also derivatives from comparatives; as, *βελτι(ον)-όω*, *μει(ον)-όω*, *ἐλασσ(ον)-όω*, *κακι(ον)-όω*.* In Greek, also, bases in Σ reject their final consonant, together with the vowel preceding it, which is the less surprising, as this class of words has in the declension, too, preserved but few traces of the σ of the base (see §. 128.). Hence, *πληρ(εσ)-όω*, from *πληρες* (see §. 146.); *ἀλγ(εσ)-έω*, from *ἀλγες*; *ἀσθεν(εσ)-έω*, from *ἀσθενες*; *τευχ(εσ)-ίζω*, from *τευχες*; *γηρ-(ασ)-άω*, from *γηρας* (§. 128.).

765. We return to the Gothic, in order to adduce some denominatives from Grimm's second and third conjugations of weak verbs. The second conjugation, which exhibits *ô* = *â* (§. 69.) for the Sanscrit *aya*, and has therefore, like the Latin, first rejected the य् *y* of *aya*, and then contracted into one long vowel the vowels which, by the loss of the *y*, touch one another, yields, *e.g.*, *fisk'-ô-s*, "thou fishest," for comparison with the Latin *pisc'-â-ris*. The Gothic base *fiska* (nom. *fisk'-s*, see §. 135.) has abandoned its *a*, as the Latin *pisci* its *i*, before the vowel of the derivative (see §. 761.). The Gothic *thiudan'-ô-s*, "thou reignest," from the base *thiudana* (nom. *-n'-s*), "king," resembles, in its principle of formation, the Latin *domin'-â-s*, as the Gothic first strong declension masculine and neuter and the Latin second on one side, and the Gothic second weak conjugation and the Latin first on the other side, are in their origin fully identical. To Latin denominatives from the first declension, like *cœn'-â-s* (see §. 761.), correspond Gothic

* On the other hand, *πλεον-άζω*, not *πλε'-αζω*.

verbs of the same class; as, *fairin'-ô-s*, "thou blamest," from the base *fairinô* (nom. *-na*), "blame." To *aeslu-â-s*, *fluctu-â-s*, corresponds *lust'-ô-s*, from the base *lustu*, "desire," "longing," with the rejection of the *u*, however, of the nominal base. Bases in *an* weaken their *a* to *i*, as in the genitive and dative; hence, *frauyin-ô-s*, "thou reignest," from *frauyan*, "lord" (nom. *frauya*, gen. *frauyin-s*), as in Latin, *nomin-â-s*, *lumin-â-s* (§. 761.); so *gudyin-ô-s*, "thou administerest the priest's office," from *gudyan*, nom. *gudya*, "priest." Some bases terminating in *a* add *n* before the formation of a denominative, and likewise weaken the *a* of the base to *i*; thus, *skalkin-ô-s*, "thou servest," from *skalka*, nom. *skalk'-s*, "servant," gen. *skalki-s* (see §. 191.); *hôrin-ô-s*, μοιχεύεις, from *hôra*, nom. *hôr'-s*, "adulterer;" *reikin-ô-s*, "thou rulest," from *reikya*, nom. *reiki* (see §. 153.), "rich." That class of weak verbs which has contracted the Sanscrit *aya* to *ai*, and stands on the same footing with the Latin second conjugation (Grimm's third weak conjugation), presents, *e. g.*, *arm'-ai-s*, "thou commiseratest," from *arma*, nom. *arm-s*; as, in Latin, *miser'-ê-ris* from *miseru* (*miser* for *miseru-s*); *ga-hveil'-ai-s*, "thou stayest," from *hveilô*, nom. *hveila*, "time," "delay."

766. The Sclavonic uses, for the formation of denominatives, that conjugational form which corresponds to the Sanscrit tenth Class. But, as has been remarked in §. 505., not only Dobrowsky's third conjugation belongs to the Sanscrit verbal class just mentioned, but also the greater portion of those verbs which, in §. 500., I wrongly classed all, without exception, under the Sanscrit fourth Class; whilst I can now recognise as sister forms of the Sanscrit fourth Class, of Latin verbs like *capio*, and Gothic like *vahs-ya*, "I grow," only such verbs of Dobrowsky's first conjugation as combine the formative elements commencing with a consonant; for example, the *ch* of the preterite, the *l* and *v* of the participle preterite active, and of the

gerund preterite, as also the suffixes ти *ti* and тъ *t* of the infinitive and supine, direct with the root, a circumstance which occurs only with respect to a few roots terminating in a vowel; *e.g.*, from пи, "to drink" (Sanscrit *pî*, Class 4, middle), comes пиѭ *pi-yû*, "I drink" (Sanscrit *pî-yê*), пиеши *pi-ye-shi*, "thou drinkest" (Sanscrit *pî-ya-sê*), пихъ *pi-ch*, "I drank," пилъ *pi-l*, "having drunk," пивъ *pi-v* (gerund), пити *pi-ti*, "to drink," sup. питъ *pi-t*. Those verbs, however, in ѭ *yû* or аѭ *ayû*, which, in the said forms, interpose an *a* between the root, or the verbal theme, and the formative element which follows (Paradigm B. of Dobrowsky), I am now of opinion must be compared with the Sanscrit tenth Class; so that *yû*, and more fully *aiyû*, of the 1st person, corresponds to the Sanscrit *ayâ-mi* and the Lithuanian *oyu*, *ûyu*, *iyu* (see §. 506.). Compare, *e.g.*, рыдаѭ *ryd-ayu*, "I lament," with the Sanscrit causal *rôd-ayâmi*, "I make to weep" (R. *rud*, "to weep"), and the Lithuanian *raud-oyu**, "I lament."

SINGULAR.

SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAVONIC.	LITHUANIAN.
rôd-ayâ-mi,	*ryd-ayû*,	*raud-oyu*.
rôd-aya-si,	*ryd-aye-shi*,	*raud-oyi*.
rôd-aya-ti,	*ryd-aye-ty*,	*raud-oya*.

DUAL.

rôd-ayâ-vas,	*ryd-aye-va*,	*raud-oya-wa*.
rôd-aya-thas,	*ryd-aye-ta*,	*raud-oya-ta*.
rôd-aya-tas,	*ryd-aye-ta*,	*raud-oya*.

* As the Sanscrit *ô* is a contraction of *au*, so in this respect the Lithuanian form corresponds still more than the Sclavonic to the Sanscrit causal. The Sclavonic ы *y* corresponds (according to §. 225. c.) to the Sanscrit radical *u*.

PLURAL.

SANSCRIT.	OLD SCLAVONIC.	LITHUANIAN.
rôd-ayâ-mas,	*ryd-aye-m,*	*raud-oya-me.*
rôd-aya-tha,	*ryd-aye-te,*	*raud-oya-te.*
rôd-aya-nti.	*ryd-ayûty*,*	*raud-oya.*

767. Both in Sclavonic and in Lithuanian the *y* of this conjugational class is dropped before the formative elements which begin with a consonant, and then, in Lithuanian, only the *o* is left, and, in Sclavonic, the more ancient *a*, which corresponds to it; hence, the infinitive in Lithuanian is *raud-o-ti*, in Sclavonic *ryd-a-ti*, and the future in Lithuanian *raud-o-su*. The Sanscrit, on the contrary, preserves the य् *y* before formations beginning with a consonant, by the insertion of a vowel of conjunction, viz. *i*; hence, *rôd-ay-i-shyâmi* corresponding to the *raud-o-su* just mentioned; and in the infinitive *rôd-ay-i-tum* answering to *raud-o-ti*, *ryd-a-ti*†, sup. рꙑдатъ *ryd-a-t*. The verbs under Paradigm B. in Dobrowsky and Kopitar have lost, in the present and the forms connected therewith, the *a* of the class character, and retain only the *y* (*glagol-yû*, "I speak," for *glagol-ayû*) before formations beginning with a consonant, but exhibit the *a* in other places, in accordance with the verbs which have *ayû* in the present; thus, *e.g.*, глаголахъ *glagol-a-ch*, "I spoke," *glagol-a-ti* "to speak," like рꙑдахъ *ryd-a-ch*, рꙑдати *ryd-a-ti*. The Lithuanian presents no forms analogous to verbs like *glagol-yû*, since forms like *myl-iu*, plural *myl-i-me*, correspond to Dobrowsky's third conjugation (*e.g.*, *vol-yû*, plural *vol-i-m*, see §. 506.), while forms like *penu*, *laikau*, plural *pen-a-me*, *laik-o-me* (see §. 506.), exhibit the Sanscrit *aya* in the abbreviated form,

* From *rydayo-nty*, see §. 255. g.

† I do not mean by this comparison to assert that the Lithuanian and Sclavonic infinitive suffix is connected with that of the Sanscrit language.

which in *raud-oyu*, рѣдаѭ *ryd-ayû*, enters, save in the present indicative and its derivatives, only before suffixes beginning with a consonant.

768. The Lithuanian and Sclavonic nominal bases, like those of the kindred languages already mentioned, when they terminate with a vowel, which is generally the case, reject this before the verbal derivative; hence, in Lithuanian *balt'-oyu*, "I appear white," *balt'-inu*, "I make white,"* from *balta*, nom. *-ta-s*, "white;" *dûwan'-oyu* "I bestow," from *dûwana* fem. "gift;" *czyst'-iyu*, "I purify," from *czysta*, nom. *-ta-s*, "pure;"† *gataw'-oyu* and *gataw'-iyu*, "I make ready," from *gatawa'-s*, "ready;" *dal'-iyu*, "I divide," from *dali-s*, "portion;" *apyok'-iu*, "I deride," from *apyoka-s* "jest;" *didd'-inu*, "I enlarge," from *diddi-s*; *brang'-inu*, "I render dear," from *brangu-s*. The following are examples of denominatives in Old Sclavonic: дѣлаѭ *dyel'-ayû*, "I make," дѣлаχъ *dyel'-a-ch*, "I made," from дѣло *dyelo*, "work;" подобѣть *podob'-ye-ty*, "it is fitting," infin. подобати *podob'-a-ti*, from *podoba*, "use;" ѕнаменаѭ *ζnamena-yû*, "I denote," from ѕнамен *ζnamen*, nom. *ζnamya* (see §. 264.), "mark" (Kopitar Glagol. p. 73.); глаголѭ *glagol'-yû*, "I speak," infin. *glagol'-a-ti*, from *glagolo*, nom. *glagol*, "word." In forms in ѹѭ *ûyu*, infin. *ov-a-ti*, the ѹ *û* appears to me, in departure from what has been remarked at §. 255. h. as a contraction of *aʋ* or *ou* (§. 255. f.), and the *v* of *ov-a-ti* as the euphonic alteration of the final element of the diphthong ѹ *û*=*ov*. The corresponding form in Lithuanian is *auyu*, the first *u* of which, before vowels, likewise changes into its equivalent semi-vowel; hence, *e. g.*, *naszl'-áuyu*, "I live in widowhood," from *naszlẽ*

* Denominatives in *inu* have all a causal signification, compare §. 744.

† With the formations in *iyu* compare the Greek in ιζω=ιγω, see §. 762; *iyu* and *oyu* have the same relation to one another as ιζω and αζω have to one another in Greek.

"widow," pret. *naszl'-aw-au*, fut. *naszl'-au-su*. So in Old Sclavonic; вдовѣѭ *vdov'-û-yû*, pret. вдововахъ *vdov'-ov-ach*, infin. вдововати *vdov'-ov-a-ti*, from вдова *vdova*, "widow" = Sanscrit *vidhavâ*. именѣѭ *imen-û-yû*, "I name," infin. именовати *imen-ov-a-ti*, from the base имен *imen*. Other examples of this kind occur in Dobrowsky, p. 372. We may regard the *û*, *ov*, of these forms as a lengthening of the theme of the base noun, and divide, therefore, as follows: *vdovû-yû*, *vdovov-a-ti*, *imenû-yû*, *imenov-a-ti*, where we must recall what has been observed at §. 263. regarding the unorganic introduction of Sclavonic bases into the declension in ъı *y*. In denominatives in ѣѭ *yeyû*, as, *e.g.*, богатѣѭ *bogat'-yeyû*, "I am or become rich," infin. богатѣти *bogat'-ye-ti*, from the base *bogato*, nom. *bogat*, ѣ *ye* corresponds to the Sanscrit *a* of *ayâmi*, which will not appear surprising when we consider the peculiarity of the Sclavonic in constantly prefixing to vowels a *y*. The following are examples of denominatives from Dobrowsky's third conjugation (see §. 505.): женѭсѧ *schen'-yû-sya* "I marry," infin. женитисѧ *schen'-i-ti-sya*, from жена *schena*, "woman;" готовлѭ *gotov'-lyû* (euphonic for *vyû*), "I prepare," infin. готовити *gotov'-i-ti*, from готово *gotovo*, nom. m. готовъ *gotov* "ready;" цѣлѭ *zyel'-yû*, "I heal," infin. цѣлити *zyel'-i-ti*, from цѣло *zyelo*, nom. цѣлъ *zyel*, "healthy."

769. I have already, in §. 502., compared the Greek denominatives in σσω, as αἱμάσ-σω from αἱματ-γω (see §. 501.), with those in Sanscrit formed with य *ya*. While, however, in Sanscrit, the final vowel of the base noun, if short, is lengthened, the same in Greek, according to the analogy of §. 762., is dropped; hence, *e.g.*, ἀγγέλλω from ἀγγελ(ο)-γω, ποικίλλω from ποικιλ(ο)-γω, αἰκάλλω from αἰκαλ(ο)-γω, μαλάσσω from μαλακ(ο)-γω, μειλίσσω from μειλιχ(ο)-γω. Bases in ρ, ρο, and ν, transfer the *y*, vocalized to *i*, to the preceding syllable, instead of assimilating it to

the preceding consonant; hence, τεκμαί-ρ-ο-μαι from τεκμαρ-γο-μαι, from τέκμαρ; καθαίρ-ω from καθαρ(ο)-γω, from καθαρο; μεγαίρ-ω from μεγαρ-γω, not from μέγα-ς, but from the base of the oblique cases μεγαλο, the λ being exchanged for ρ (see §. 20.); μελαίνω from μελαν-γω, from the base μελαν; ποιμαίνω, πεπαίνω, τεκταίνω, ἀφραίνω, εὐφραίνω, from ποιμἀν-γω, &c., from the bases ποιμεν, πεπον, τεκτον, ἀφρον, εὐφρον, with the retention, however, of the original α, instead of the unorganic vowels ε, ο (see §. 3.). In denominatives from substantive bases in ματ, as ὀνομαίνω, κυμαίνω, σπερμαίνω, σημαίνω, χειμαίνω, the ν probably springs from the original form of the suffix ματ, as this is a corruption of μαν, and answers to the Sanscrit *man*, and Latin *men*, *min*.* It appears, however, to me impossible to determine with certainty as to the case of the preponderating number of denominatives in αινω, whose base nouns terminate neither in ν, nor in a letter which can have proceeded from ν. I cannot, however, believe that the Greek language has produced such formations independently, and that, therefore, they are entirely unconnected with the kind of forms handed down from the period of the unity of language. Perhaps the bases in ν, and those which terminate in a consonant which is a corruption of ν, have only supplied the type for the formations in αινω; and verbs like ἀλεαίνω, ἀκταίνω, γλυκαίνω, θερμαίνω, ἐριδαίνω, κηραίνω, have followed the beaten path, in the same way as, in German, many bases have pressed into the so-called weak declension, in that they have extended the original limits of the base by the addition of *n*, or the syllable *an*. Perhaps, too, αινω, in a portion of that class of verbs which have this termination, viz. those which have sprung from other verbs, is some way connected with the Sanscrit formation *aya*, with which we have before compared Lithuanian

* See §. 497., and compare G. Curtius *De nominum Græcorum formatione*, p. 40.

causals and denominatives in *inu* (see §. 745.). If the *ν* in those denominatives which have not proceeded from bases in *ν*, or *ματ* for *μαν*, is a corruption of the *y* (compare §. 745.), then the *αι* preceding might be regarded as representing the *â* (compare §. 753.), which, in most Sanscrit denominative bases in य *ya*, precedes the semi-vowel; for though this *â* belongs to the nominal base, and is in general a lengthened form of short *a* (*chirâ-yati*, "he delays," from *chira*, "long"), still the same, in course of time, might come to be regarded as a portion of the derivative, and be suppressed before its Greek representative *αι*, as in the formations in *αω*, *αζω*, &c. Those verbs in *αινω* which appear to spring from more simple verbs, might, in their principle of formation, be contrasted in a different manner with the Sanscrit; as, *e.g.*, *αὐαίνω* (*ἀύω*), *δραίνω* (*δράω*), *κραδαίνω* (*κραδάω*), *χαλαίνω* (*χαλάω*), stand in the same relation to the corresponding short forms, as, in the Vêda dialect, *charaṇyâmi*, "I go,"* does to *charâmi*. The broader forms come from the noun of action चरण *charaṇa*, "the going" (euphonic for -न *-na*, on account of the *r* preceding). Some Sanscrit verbs, however, of this kind do not exactly correspond to the noun of action, from which they spring, but exhibit a weakening or contraction of the vowel, or the pure radical vowel instead of the gunised one of the base word, seemingly on account of the incumbrance caused by the verbal derivative; thus, *bhuraṇyâmi*, "I receive" (Rig. V. 50. 6. *bhuraṇyantam anu*), from *bharaṇa*, "the bearing," "receiving" (R. *bhar*, *bhṛi*); *turaṇyâmi*, "I hasten" (Rig. V. 121. 1. *turaṇyan*) from *tvaraṇa*, "the hastening" (R. *tvar*); *churaṇyâmi*, "I steal" (see Westerg. Radices p. 337.), from *chŏraṇa*, "the stealing" (R. *chur*). As, according to rule, a noun of action in *ana*

* It occurs in combination with the preposition *ut*, "out," in the Yajur-Vêda, see Westergaard Rad. p. 337.

may be formed from every root, and on this, too, are based all the German and Ossetian infinitives*, it cannot surprise us that, in Greek, a few denominatives of this kind remain, whose base nouns have been lost; and thus, *e.g.*, αὐαίνω, from αὐανγω, would come from a lost nominal base αὐανο, or αὐανη. Μαραίνω, which has no short verb corresponding to it, reminds us of the Sanscrit noun of action *mara-ṇa-m*, "the dying," from *mar, mṛi*, "to die," causal *mârayâmi*. Let attention be given to the Greek feminine abstracts in ονη, which correspond to the Sanscrit in *anâ*, or *aṇâ*.† Verbs in ανω may, in part, owe their origin to obsolete nominal bases in ανο.

770. How necessary it is, in the explanation of denominatives, to look back to an earlier state of language, and at the same time to examine the kindred dialects, is shewn by an interesting class of Gothic denominatives, in which the *n* likewise plays a part, though it is no way connected with that of Greek verbs in αινω, in whatever way these latter may be explained. I rather recognise, as already stated in my "Conjugational System," (pp. 115, 116), a connection in Gothic verbs like *ga-fullna*, "*impleor*," *us-gutna*, "*effundor*," *distaurna*, "*disrumpor*," *and-bundna*, "*solvor*," *ga-hailna*, "*sanor*," *fra-qvistna*, "*perdor*," *ga-vakna*, "*excitor*," *us-lukna*, "*aperior*," *dauthna*, "*morior*," with the Sanscrit passive participles in *na*; as, *bhug-na*, "bent," to which the Greek verbals in νο-ς correspond (στυγ-νός, σεμ-νός &c.), and from which the Gothic passive participles have somewhat diverged, in that they do not append the suffix *na* direct to the root, but retain the class syllable; thus, *biug-a-n(a)-s*, "bent," answering to भुग्नस् *bhug-na-s*; while the verbs just mentioned point to a period of the language,

* *E.g.*, Gothic *bindan*, Osset. *bathin*, "to bind"=Sanscrit *bandhana*, "the binding."

† Examples are: *yâchanâ*, "*precatio*;" *arhaṇâ*, "*honoris testificatio*."

when the suffix was still, as in Sanscrit and Greek, added direct to the root; so that, *e. g.*, *ga-skaidna*, "I separate myself" (1. Cor. vii. 11. *yaba gaskaidnai*, ἐὰν χωρισθῇ), answers better than *skaid-a-ns*, "separated," to the Sanscrit छिन *chhin-nas* (euphonic for *chhid-nas*), "cleft." Compare, also, *and-bund-na*, "I am loosed (set free)," with *bund-a-n(a)-s*, "bound;" *bi-auk-na*, "I am enlarged," with *bi-auk-a-n(a)-s*, "enlarged;" *fralus-na*, "I am dissolved, destroyed, lost," with *lusa-n(a)-s*, "loosened" (Sanscrit *lû-na-s* "cut off," "torn off"); *galuk-na*, "I am closed," with *ga-luk-a-n(a)-s*, "closed;" *and-lêt-na*, "I am unloosed," with *lêt-a-n(a)-s*, "tranquil;" *af-lif-na*, "I am left remaining," "I remain over" (περιλείπομαι), with the to-be-presupposed *lib-a-n(a)-s*, "left remaining" (*laibôs*, "remnant"), for *lif-a-n(a)-s*, as the law for the transposition of sounds (§. 87.) would lead us to expect, in answer to the Greek λείπω*, from the lost verb *leiba, laif, libum* (Old High German, *bi-libu*, "I remain," *bileib*, "I remained," *bi-libumês*, "we remained"); *ufar-haf-na*, "I raise myself above" (ὑπερ-αίρομαι), with *ufar-haf-ya-n(a)-s*, "raised over," "elevated;" *dis-taur-na*, "*dis-rumpor*," with *dis-taur-a-n(a)-s*, "*diruptus*;" *ga-thaurs-na*, "I dry up" (ξηραίνομαι), with *ga-thaurs-a-n(a)-s*, "ἐξηραμμένος," from the non-existing verb *ga-thairsa, ga-thars, gathaursum*. *Dis-hnaup-na*, "*dirumpor*," from the root *hnup* (*hniupa, hnaup, hnupum, hnupans*), is so far irregular as it has the radical vowel gunised, whilst otherwise denominatives in *na*, like the passive participle with the same termination, attach themselves to one of the lighter forms of the verbal theme. *Us-geis-na*, also, "*percellor*," "*stupeo*," from the to-be-presupposed *geisa, gais, gisum* (Grimm. II. p. 46.), is con-

* In departure from what has been remarked at p. 441, I now agree with Benfey (Greek Wurzellexicon II. p. 11) in taking the Sanscrit root *rich* (from *rik*), "to separate," "to leave," as the root akin to the Latin *lic* (*linquo*), Greek λιπ, and Gothic *lif, lib*.

trary to the common analogy, and should be *us-gisna*. But *dis-skrit-na*, "*findor*," and *tundna*, "*uror*," the base verbs of which are likewise lost (*skreita, skrait, skritum, tinda, tand, tundum*), exhibit the regular vowel.

771. After that *na* in Gothic, as in the above-mentioned instances, had once raised itself to be the exponent of the passive relation, it might also extend itself to the adjective bases, and thus denominatives in *na* and *ya* (for *ya* also *ai*, see §. 109.[a] 6.), as passives (or verbs neuter) and transitive active verbs, stand mutually answering to each other. The final vowel of nominal bases are dropped as well before *na* as before *ya* (=Sanscrit *aya*, see §. 674.); hence, *e. g.*, from the base *fulla* (nom. masc. *full'-s*), "full," *full'-na*, "*impleor*," *full'-ya*, "*impleo*;" from *mikila*, "great" (nom. *mikil'-s*), *mikil'-na*, "*magnificor*," *mikil'-ya*, "*magnifico*" (compare μεγαλίζω); from *veiha* (*veih'-s*), "holy," *veih'-na*, "*sanctificor*," *veih'-a* (*veih'-ais*) "*sanctifico*;" from *ga-nôha* (*ganôh'-s*), "enough," *ga-nôh'-na*, "*expleor*," *ganôh'-ya*, "*expleo*;" from *managa* (*manag'-s*), "much," *manag'-na*, "*abundo*" ("I am made much"); *manag'-ya*, "*augeo*;" from *gabiga* (*gabig'-s*), "rich," *gabig'-na*, "*locupletatus sum*," *gabig'-ya* "*locupleto*." It cannot surprise us that the base words of denominatives in *na* cannot be all cited from the lingual sources which have been preserved to our time, nor that some were already obsolete in the time of Ulfila, but survive only in the denominatives, of which they were the parents. Thus, *e. g.*, an adjective base *drôba* (*drôbs*), "troubled" (Anglos. *dróf*), does not occur; whence comes *drôb'-ya*, "I trouble," "excite," "shake," and *drôb'-na*, "I am troubled." Inseparable prepositions precede the denominatives, as they do the primitive verbal themes, though the base word be simple; as, *e. g.*, from *blinda* (*blind'-s*), "blind," comes *ga-blind'-na*, "I am blinded," and *ga-blind-ya*, "I blind," "dazzle;" from *dumba* (*dumb'-s*), "dumb," *af-dumb'-na*, "I become dumb," "grow speechless" (Mark

iv. 39. *afdumbn πεφίμωσο*). It is possible, that from the simple adjective bases at first simple denominatives proceeded, and from these, which no longer exist, or cannot be cited, compound denominatives; thus, from *dumbn* came, at first, *dumbna*, and thence *afdumbna*; as, in Latin, from *mutu-s*, *mutesco*, and thence *obmutesco*.

772. To return to the Sanscrit, we must remark that denominatives formed with य *ya* partly express a wish; as, *e. g.*, *patî-yâmi*, "I wish for a spouse," from *pati*; *putrî-yâmi*, "I wish a son, or for a son, or children," from *putra*. These forms lead us to the Greek desiderative denominatives in *ιαω*, which, however, in departure from the Sanscrit, reject the final vowel of the base noun, while the latter lengthen it, but in doing so weaken *â* to *î*; thus, *putrî-yâmi* for *putrâ-yâmi*.* And Greek forms like *θαναϝ-ιάω*, *στρατηγ'-ιάω*, *κλαυσ'-ιάω*, are properly based on the causal form of the just-mentioned Sanscrit denominatives in *ya*; thus, *θαναϝ-ιάω*, *θαναϝ-ιάο-μεν* = Sanscrit forms like *putrî-yayâ-mi*, *putrî-yayâ-mas*, while *putrî-yâ-mi*, *putrî-yâ-mas*, would lead us to expect Greek forms like *θαναϝ-ιω*, *θαναϝ-ιο-μεν*, or, according to §. 502ᵃ, *θανασσω*, *θανασσομεν*. It deserves, however, notice, that, in Sanscrit, denominatives in *ya* occasionally adopt the causal form without a causal signification; thus we find, without a causal meaning,† the gerund *asûyayitvâ*, which belongs to the causal form, but is used as coming from the denominative *asû-yâmi*, "I curse," "execrate" (intrans. "I am wrath," from *asu* "life").

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* But we find in the Vêda dialect *aśva-yâmi*, "*equos cupio*," from *aśva*, "a horse" (S. V. II. 1. 1. 11. 2.).

† Nal. 14. 17.: *krôdhâd asûyayitvâ tam*, "*irâ exsecrando eum.*" On the other hand, *dhûmâyayâmi*, the causal of *dhûmâ-yâmi*, "*fumo*," has also a causal meaning: *dhûmâyayan diśati*, "causing the regions of the world to smoke."

773. With the causal form of denominatives in य *ya* may be compared also the Latin in *igâ*. The *i* would then be the final vowel of the base noun, either in an unaltered form, as in *miti-gâ-s*, *levi-gâ-s*, *navi-gâ-s**; or the weakening of a heavier vowel (see §. 6.), as in *fumi-gâ-s* (for *fumu-gâ-s*, or *fumo-gâ-s*), *remi-gâ-s*, *clari-gâ-s*, *casti-gâ-s* (but *pur-gâ-s* with *i* suppressed); or the unorganic extension of a base ending in a consonant, as in *liti-gâ-s* opposed to *jur-gâ-s*. The *g* must be taken as the hardening of *y*, which indeed occurs, perhaps, nowhere else in Latin, but is not uncommon in the kindred languages (see pp. 110. and 993.), and with which is connected the fact, that in Greek ζ often stands as the hardened form of an original *y* (see §. 19.). The *â* of the forms in question, as generally of those in the first conjugation (except where it is radical), must be the contraction of the Sanscrit *a(y)a*; and thus *fumi-gâ-s* would be, as it were, the Latinization of the Sanscrit *dhûmâ-ya(y)a-si*, "thou makest to smoke"†. If, however, we agree with the common opinion, which, however, is opposed by Düntzer, ("Doctrine of the Latin Formation of Words" p. 140,) in recognising in the verbs in *igo* composites with *ago*, we must then divide thus, *mit'-igo*, *fum'-igo*, &c., and assume a weakening of the radical *a* of *ago* to *i*, and a transfer of *igo* from the third conjugation to the first, both of which things occur in *facere*, which, at the end of compounds, becomes *ficare*.

774. Bases which, in Sanscrit, end in *n*, reject that letter as well in desideratives as also in other denominatives in *ya*. Other consonants, also, are occasionally dropped before the denominative suffix य *ya*; hence, *vṛihâ-yê*, "I become great" (Mid.), from *vṛihat*, in the strong cases *vṛihant*, pro-

* I retract the conjecture expressed at §. 109ᵇ. 1.

† See p. 379 and §. 772. note **.

perly a participle present from *varh, vṛih,* "to grow." Thus *tṛipâ-yê, rôhâ-yê,* from the participles *tṛipant, tṛipat, rôhant, rôhat* (see Westergaard Rad. pp. 337, 339). We might consequently expect from the participle of the auxiliary future forms like *dâ-syâ-yê* for *dâs-yat-yê,* or *dâsyant-yê;* and it follows that we may regard the Greek desideratives in σείω as denominatives, *i. e.* derive them from the participle, and not from the indicative future. The ε, for instance, of παρα-δω-σείω must then be looked upon as the thinning of the ο of the suffix ovτ, and παρα-δωσε'-ίω must therefore be derived from παραδωσο(ντ)-ιω; just as above, §. 503., ἀεκ'-αζόμενος from ἀεκοντ. But if Greek desideratives in σείω spring from a future participle, then Latin desideratives in *turio,* as *cœnaturio, nupturio, parturio, esurio* (from *es-turio,* see §. 101.), may be placed by their side as analogous forms* in which the *i* appears to correspond to the Sanscrit suffix य *ya,* though usually the *î* of the Latin fourth conjugation corresponds to the Sanscrit *aya,* while the simple *ya* is represented by the *i* of the third conjugation. As, however, the *i* of the third conjugation is occasionally altered to the *î* of the fourth †, it cannot surprise us that some denominatives of the Latin fourth conjugation should, in their origin, belong, not to the Sanscrit formation *aya,* but to *ya;* and so *equ'-io, equ'-îs,* both as regards its base word and its derivation, might be compared with the Vêdian *aśvâyâmi,* "*equos cupio,*" mentioned above (§. 772. Note*).

775. Denominatives with a desiderative meaning are

* The short *u* of verbs in *turio* occasions me no difficulty in deducing them from the participle in *tûru-s.* The incumbrance of the verbal derivation appears to have occasioned the shortening of the vowel, as in denominatives like *colŏro, honŏro,* compared with *color, colô-ris, honor, honôr-is.*

† See §. 500., and Struve *On the Latin Declension and Conjugation,* p. 200 (from *fodio,* in Plaut., *fodîri;* from *gradior, aggrediri;* from *pario,* in Enn., *parîre;* from *morior, morîmur*).

also formed in Sanscrit by the suffixes *sya* and *asya*; *e. g.*, *vrishasyâmi*, "to long for the bull;" *aśva-syâmi*, "to long for the stallion" (*equio*); *madhv-asyâmi*, "to wish for honey." We have already noticed the agreement of these forms with that of the auxiliary future, as also, as respects the sibilant, with the desideratives which spring from verbal roots. From Latin may be adduced imitatives in *sso*, as has already been done by Düntzer ("Doctrine of the Latin formation of words" p. 135). Whence, *e. g.*, *patri-sso* would stand by assimilation for *patri-syo* (compare the Prâkrit futures, §. 655.), with *i* as the extension of the base noun, as in *patri-bus*. The *i* of *attici-sso*, *græci-sso*, is the weakening of the final vowel of the base noun. The first conjugation, however, does not admit of comparison with Sanscrit desideratives like *aśva-sya-ti*, which leads us to expect the Latin third conjugation, as in derivatives from verbs like *cape-sso*, *incipi-sso*, *lace-sso*, *peti-sso*, which admit of comparison with Sanscrit verbal desideratives in *sa*—in so far as their *s* really stands for *sy*—or also with the auxiliary future. The *e* or *i* of Latin forms is, however, most probably the class vowel of the third conjugation, though usually this does not extend beyond the special tenses. *Incesso*, from *cedo*, is probably an abbreviation of *incedesso*; and *arcesso*, if it comes from *cedo*, of *arcedesso*.

776. Outwardly a similarity presents itself between the Sanscrit nominal desideratives in *sya* or *asya*, and the Latin inchoatives in *asco* and *esco*: these, however, as respects their principle of formation, are scarcely transmitted from the time of the unity of language, but most probably first originated on Roman ground, by the annexation, as it appears to me, of the verb substantive with the meaning "to become" to nominal bases, which, when they terminate in a vowel, drop this before the vowel of the auxiliary verb (compare §. 522.). Thus, as *pos-sum* from *pot-sum* for *poti-sum*, *pot-eram* for *poti-eram*; so, *e. g.*, *puell'-asco*, *ir'-*

ascor, puer'-asco (from the base *pueru,-rŭ*), *tener'-asco*, and *tener'-esco, acet'-asco, gel'-asco* (from *gelu*), *herb'-esco, exaqu'-esco, plum'-esco, flamm'-esco, amar'-esco, aur'-esco, clar'-esco, vetust'-esco, dulc'-esco, juven'-esco, celebr'-esco, corn'-esco.* Whether we ought to divide *long'-isco, vetust'-isco,* or *longi-sco, vetusti-sco,* may remain undecided. In the former case the *i* of the auxiliary verb might be compared with that of the Greek imperative ἴσ-θι: in the latter *i* is the weakening of the final vowel of the adjective base, as in compounds like *longi-pes* and derivatives like *longi-tudo.* Bases ending in a consonant experience no abbreviation, thus, *arbor-esco, carbon-esco, lapid-esco, matr-esco, noct-esco, dit-esco,* but *opul-esco* from *opulent-esco,* which reminds us of the Sanscrit denominatives from abbreviated participial bases in *nt* mentioned above (§. 774.). The verb substantive, which I think I recognise in these formations, answers to the obsolete future *esco* (*escit, superescit, obescit*), which, however, in composition, has occasionally retained the original *a*; as in Old Prussian, also, in its simple state, *as-mai, as-sai, as-t,* corresponds to the Lithuanian *es-mi, es-si, es-ti.* How close the notions of futurity and of becoming, as of future existence, approach one another needs no mention. With respect to the guttural which has attached itself to the root of the verb substantive, *asco, esco* and the isolated future *escit,* resemble the Greek imperfect ἔσκον, which, with the rejection of the radical vowel, enters also into combinations with attributive verbs (δινεύε-σκε, καλέε-σκον, ἐλάσα-σκε).* The Latin *esco,* also, when added to

* I have no hesitation in ascribing the vowel which precedes the σ to the temporal base of the simple verb; for the ο of ἐκάλεον is, in its origin, identical with ε, and stands in place of the ε of ἐκάλεες, ἐκάλεε, only on account of the nasal which follows: the ε of the 3d person of the 1st aorist is identical with the α of the other persons, which is everywhere [illegible] an ending follows it.

verbal bases, relinquishes its initial vowel; for the *a* (*á*), *e* (*é*), and *i* (*í*) of forms like *laba-sco, ama-sco, consuda-sco, genera-sco, palle-sco, vire-sco, rube-sco, senti-sco, obdormi-sco,* are clearly the characters of the first, second, and fourth conjugations; on which account we here divide differently than above, in *puer'-asco, clar'-esco, dulc'-esco* &c. In compounds with bases of the third conjugation the *i* of *gemisco, tremi-sco,* must be regarded as by nature short, as it is identical with the *i* of *gem-i-s, trem-i-s* (see §. 109ª. L.), which leads us back to the Sanscrit *a*. The *i* of *profici-scor, concupi-scor,* is identical with that of *faci-s, profici-s, cupi-s; nanci-scor* presupposes a simple *nanco, nanci-s; fruge-sco* exhibits *ĕ* for the *ĭ* of *frangi-s* (compare §. 6.), and has lightened itself by the rejection of the nasal of the root. To Latin forms like *laba-sco, ama-sco, palle-sco,* correspond, in their principle of formation, Greek forms like γηρά-σκω, ἡβά-σκω, ἱλά-σκομαι, ἀλδή-σκω; where, however, it is not asserted that the Latin *é* of the second conjugation is connected with the Greek η of forms like πεφίλη-κα, φιλησω, though both lead us back to the Sanscrit *aya*; but of this the Latin contains the two first letters in the contraction of *ai* to *é* (see §. 109ª. 6.), while the Greek η of φιλήσω and εε, εο of φιλέετε, φιλέομεν, contain the first and third letter of the Sanscrit *aya*, either separate (in εε, εο), or united in η. The ι of forms like εὑρί-σκω, στερί-σκω, ἁλί-σκομαι, ἀμβλί-σκω, is scarcely a vowel of conjunction, but, in my opinion, only a weakening of a heavier vowel; thus, εὑρίσκω, στερί-σκω, for εὑρήσκω, στερή-σκω; ἀμβλι-σκω, ἁλί-σκομαι for ἀμβλω-σκω, ἁλω-σκομαι; to which, among other things, the futures εὑρή-σω, ἁλώ-σομαι, &c., point. We must remark the weakening of *o* to ι in ὀνί-νημι for ὀνόνημι, ὀπιπτεύω for ὀποπτεύω*; and, moreover, the forms ἀλθή-σκω

* See §. 754., and compare ὀπωπή and ὀπωπέω, which forms, by the lengthening of the radical vowel in the second syllable of the root, which is

and *ἀλθί-σκω* which exist together. I am now inclined, in departure from what was remarked at §. 751., to assume that the Greek reduplicated forms in *σκω*, in spite of their striking resemblance to Sanscrit verbal desideratives like *jijñâsâmi* (compare *γιγνώσκω*), are nevertheless not historically connected with them, but, as comparatively younger formations, have arisen from the junction of the verb substantive in a form analogous to the imperfect *ἔσκον* and Latin future *escit*, but deprived of the radical vowel, to roots repeated according to the principle of the Sanscrit third class (see §. 109ᵇ. 3.). Thus, *γιγνώσκω*, *μιμνήσκω*, presuppose simple verbs like *γίγνωμι*, *μίμνημι*, according to the analogy of *δίδωμι*, *τίθημι*, *βίβημι*, or such as *γιγνόω*, *μιμνέω*. And *ἔγνων* and *γνώσω* bear the same relation to the probably existent *γίγνωμι* that *ἔδων* and *δώσω* do to *δίδωμι*. If, however, the Greek reduplicated forms in *σκω* must, with regard to their principle of formation, be looked on as distinct from Sanscrit verbs like *jijñâsâmi*, the same must hold as regards Latin forms like *no-sco*, *di-sco* (perhaps from *dida-sco*), *pa-scor*, *na-scor* (*gna-scor* by transposition from *gan-scor*), which correspond to Greek unreduplicated forms like *βά-σκω*, *θνή-σκω*.

777. In Sanscrit, denominatives may also be formed by annexing simply an *a* to the theme of nominal bases in the special tenses, which *a*, like that of the first and sixth classes of primitive verbs (§. 109ᵃ. 1.), is suppressed in the universal tenses. A final *a* of nominal bases is dropped; hence, *e. g.*, *lôhit'-a-ti*, "he is red," from *lôhita*. I am unable to quote from authors instances of such denominatives: there occur, however, among the roots exhibited by Indian Grammarians of the first or sixth class, several in which I think I recognise denominatives from bases in

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is twice repeated in its full form, correspond admirably to the Sanscrit [illegible] mentioned.

a; thus, among others, *bhâm*, "to be angry," *bhâm-a-tê*, "he is angry," which I derive from *bhâm-a*, "anger:" this latter, however, which also signifies "light," "splendour," clearly comes from the root *bhâ*, "to shine." As the Latin *i* of the third conjugation corresponds to the Sanscrit *a* of the first and sixth class, so *metu-i-t*, *tribu-i-t*, *statu-i-t*, *minu-i-t*, correspond to the Sanscrit denominatives here mentioned. In Greek correspond denominatives, which in the special tenses add *o* and *ε* to the nominal base; thus, *e.g.*, *μηνί-ο-μεν*, *μηνί-ε-τε*, *δηρί-ο-μαι*, *μητί-ο-μαι*, *δακρύ-ο-μεν*, *μεθύ-ο-μεν*, *ἰθύ-ο-μεν*, *ἀχλύ-ο-μεν*, *βασιλεύ-ο-μεν*, *βρα-βεύ-ο-μεν*. What, however, are we to say of that rather numerous class of denominatives in *ευω*, which are not founded on any nominal base in *ευ*; *e.g.*, *κορ'-εύο-μαι*, "I am a maiden;" *πολιτ'-εύ-ω*, "I am a citizen;" *ἀθλ'-εύ-ω*, "I contend," properly, "am in strife;" *ἰατρ'-εύ-ω*, "I am a physician;" *κρατιστ'-εύ-ω*, "I am the best;" *κολακ-εύ-ω*, "I am a flatterer, flattering;" *δουλ'-εύ-ω*, "I am a servant;" *ἀληθ'-εύ-ω*, "I am true"? If the verb substantive, which in most of these formations is more or less evidently present in spirit, be also contained therein bodily, we must then have recourse to the root *φυ* (see p. 115), which therefore, in these compounds, has preserved the original notion, while in its simple state the causal meaning of bringing into existence, "making to be," prevails. The *ε* of *-ευω* would therefore be the Guna vowel, corresponding to the *a* of the Sanscrit *bhav-â-mi*, "I am," "I become;" and, with respect to the dropping of the radical labial *ευω*, would stand on the same footing with *ui*, *vi*, of Latin forms like *pot-ui*, *mon-ui*, *ama-vi*, *audi-vi*, (see §. 556.).* In Gothic the verbs

* The Ossetian also has, in its simple state, lost the labial of the auxiliary verb under discussion, and gives, *e.g.*, *wa-d*, "he must be," *wonth*, "they must be," corresponding to the Sanscrit *bhavatu*, *bhavantu*: see "*The Caucasian Members of the Indo-European Family of Languages*," pp. 43

in *na* (as *fullna*, "*impleor*"), mentioned above (§. 770.), belong to the class of denominatives here mentioned. These verbs in *na* come from participial bases with the same termination, which, like the Sanscrit bases in *a* (*rôhit'-a-ti*), reject their final vowel before that of the class; thus, *fulln'-i-th*, "*impletur*," from *fullna-i-th*, for *fullna-a-th* (see §. 67.), plural *fulln'-a-nd*, as in Sanscrit *rôhit'-a-ti*, *rôhit'-a-nti*. But this kind of formation holds, in Gothic, only for the present and its derivatives, while in the preterite an *ô* takes the place of *a* or *i*; so that, *e. g.*, *fulln'-ô-da*, "I was filled," in its principle of formation agrees with Latin forms like *regn'-â-vi*, the base noun also of which, *regnu* ("kingdom as ruled"), with respect to its derivative suffix, is connected with the to-be-presupposed Gothic base *fullna* (Sanscrit *pûrna*, "filled").

FORMATION OF WORDS.

778. With regard to the formation of verbs there remains nothing to be added to what has been already said regarding the structure of roots and the classes of verbal bases (§. 109[a].) which proceed thence, and subsequently respecting the formation of derivative verbs. The primitive pronouns, and the appellations of numerals, do not follow the ordinary rules for the formation of words (see §. 105.), and, with their derivatives, are discussed in the paragraphs allotted to them. We shall now discuss simply the formation of substantives and adjectives; and, first, those which stand in close connection with the verb, and, both in the organization and in the application of language, play a very important part: we allude to the participles and the infinitive. It might be said that we ought to treat of

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pp. 43 and 82, Rem. 48. In Persian the present of the verb substantive [illegible] with any substantive, adjective, as well as with the [illegible] *e.g.*, *pîram*, "*senex sum*;" *manam*, "*ego sum*."

the formation of nouns before treating of their inflection, because words must be formed before they are inflected. But for practical considerations it appeared more useful, at first, only to lay down the principle of the formation of words generally, as is done in §§. 110. 111., and to defer the more full investigation of the subject to this place. At all events, the theory of the formation of tenses must precede that of the participles, as the latter, for the most part, irrespective of their nominal suffixes, rest on a principle of formation similar to that of the corresponding tenses of the indicative, and bear a sisterly, if not a filial relation to them. It will, however, be clearly seen from the following paragraphs how requisite an acquaintance with the forms of cases, and with the distinction of genders, is to the understanding of the theory of the formation of words.

779. The participle present active forms a point of observation as regards the representation of the original unity of the Indo-European languages; and it is here worthy of notice, that several of the still living tongues of our quarter of the world have, in some cases, preserved the original formative suffix in a more perfect form than the Sanscrit in its most ancient sources. The full form of the suffix is *nt*; the Sanscrit, however, exhibits the *n* only in a few cases, which in all places, where a division of the theme into stronger and weaker forms occurs, has retained the original and full form of the base (see §. 129.); hence, *e.g.*, *bharan*, *bharantam* = φέρων, φέροντα, *ferentem*, dual *bharantâu*, Vêda *bharantâ* (nom. acc. voc.) = φέροντε, plural *bharantas* (nom. voc.) = φέροντες, *ferentes*; but in the accusative we find *bharatas*, by the loss of the *n* in the latter part of the word, opposed to φέροντ-ας, and so in all the other cases of the three numbers the *n* is dropped in Sanscrit; and in the genitive singular *bharatas* stands, from this loss, in an inferior position when compared with the Greek

φέροντος, Latin *ferentis*, Gothic *bairan-din-s* (see p. 138), and our German strong participial genitives, as *stehendes, gehendes.** The Lithuanian also has till the present time retained the nasal of the participle present through all the cases of the three numbers in both genders: it extends the theme, however, in the oblique cases, by the addition of *ia;* and, according to a universal law of sound, changes the *t* before *i*, when this is followed by any vowel but *e*, into the sound *tsch*, which Ruhig writes *ch*, Mielcke *cz;* hence, *e.g.*, *degaṅs*, "the burning" (=Sanscrit *dahan*), according to the analogy of Zend forms like *baraṅs*, Latin like *ferens*, Æolic as τιθέν̣ς, accusative *degantiṅ* (for *degantien*, from *-iaṅ*), genitive *deganchio*.

780. The Old Prussian, differing from the Lithuanian, extends the participial base in the oblique cases by the simple addition of *i*, and so far agrees entirely with the Latin, which, *e.g.*, forms simply *ferens* from the base *ferent*, which has not exceeded its original limits, but which, in all the other cases, follows the analogy of bases in *i*. *Ferenti-a* and *ferenti-um* belong as decidedly to the *i* declension as *facili-a, facili-um*. We are therefore right in dividing *ferente-m* just as *facile-m* (from *facili-m*), though from a base, *ferent*, the accusative could be in no case other than *ferentem*=Zend *barĕnt-ĕm*. The participles present masculine which remain to us in Old Prussian are, *dilants*, "the worker," "working;"† *sidans*, "*sedens;*" *empŕiki-sins*, "*præsens;*" dative *empŕiki-senti-smu*, according to the pro-

* Verbs of the third class, in Sanscrit, owing to the incumbrance of the syllable of reduplication, have lost the nasal in the strong cases also; hence, *e.g.*, *dadatum* compared with δίδοντα, *dadatas* with δίδοντες (compare §. 459.).

† According to the mode in which the two following examples are written we should expect *dilans;* but as respects the retention of the [illegible] corresponds to Gothic forms like *bairands*.

nominal declension (see §. 170.); *niaubillînti-s*, "of the under age," "not speaking" (*infantis*);* *ripinti-n*, "*sequentem*;"† *empriki waitiainti-ns* (acc. pl.), "*contradicentes*;" *warguseggienti-ns*, "*maleficos*." The following are adverbial datives, *giwantei*, "living," and *stanintei* (also *staninti*) "standing," from the bases *giwanti* (Sanscrit *jîvant*), *staninti* (see Nesselmann, pp. 52 and 76).

781. Before the feminine character *î*, the Sanscrit, according to the difference of conjugation of the respective verbs, either retains the nasal of the participial suffix or rejects it, and in such a manner as that verbs of the first principal conjugation regularly retain it, and but rarely reject it, while conversely those of the second ordinarily reject it, and only occasionally retain it; while the Gothic and Lithuanian have constantly preserved it. Compare, *e.g.*, with the Sanscrit *vasantî*, "the inhabiting" (also *vasatî*, Nal. 13. 66.), from *vas*, Class 1, the Gothic *visandei* (Them. *visandein*, see §§. 120. 142.), "the abiding or being;" and with the Sanscrit *dahantî*, "the burning," the Lithuanian *deganti* (gen. *deganchiôs*, see p. 174, Note *). In Greek, θεραπόντις is in form a solitary participle present feminine with ιδ = Sanscrit *î*, according to the analogy of the feminine bases in τριδ = *trî*, Latin *trî-c*, mentioned in §. 119. The root सस् *as*, Class 2, of the verb substantive, forms in Sanscrit *satî*, "the being," never *santî*; the Lithuanian *esanti* therefore surpasses the Sanscrit both in the retention of the radical vowel and in that of the *n* of the suffix.

* *Billi*, "I speak." The inseparable preposition *au*, combined with the negation *ni*, corresponds to the Sanscrit *ava*.

† Also *ripintinton*, in the last syllable of which I think I recognise an appended pronoun or article = Sanscrit *tam*, Lithuanian *tan*, Greek τόν. As regards the *o* for *a*, compare the accusative of the participle perfect passive *dâto-n*, "*datum*" = Sanscrit *dattam*, from *dadâtam*, irregularly for *dâtam*.

In the masculine nominative, also, the Lithuanian *esañs* has two points of superiority to the Sanscrit *san*, the retention of the radical vowel, and of the nominative sign: the latter is shared also by the Latin *sens*, of *præsens*, *ab-sens*, to which the abovementioned (§. 780.) Old Prussian *sins*, of *empŕiki-sins*, admirably corresponds. The Greek, for the most part, with its ὤν, contrasts disadvantageously with the Lithuanian *esañs*; for while the latter has, together with the case sign, preserved the complete root, we miss in ὢν both the entire root and the expression of the nominative relation. The epic and Ionic form ἐων, however, leads us to conjecture a formerly existing ἐσων, and the suppression of the σ in this position is not surprising according to §. 128. It is, however, not less marvellous that a form which, in Greek, has been corrupted for thousands of years, quite up to remote antiquity, and which has been tolerably accurately retained by the Latin only under the protection of the prepositions *præ* and *ab**, should have remained quite perfect in the Lithuanian up to the present day.

782. The Indian Grammarians assume *at*, in the strong cases *ant*, as the suffix of the participle present. I cannot, however, attribute to the suffix the *a* of forms like *bharant*, any more than the ο of the Greek φέροντ: the vowel belongs in both languages to the class syllable; *i. e.* the ο of φερ-ο-ντ is identical with that of φέρ-ο-μεν, φέρ-ο-ντι, and with the ε of φέρ-ε-τε, ἔφερ-ε-ς, &c. That the Greek participial suffix is simply ντ, not οντ, is clear from the conjugation in μι, where ντ attaches to the final vowel of the root or of the verbal theme (δίδο-ντ, τιθε-ντ, ἱστα-ντ, δεικ-νυ-ντ): the Sanscrit, however, in accordance with a peculiarity, which, in my opinion, first arose after the separation of languages

* On the other hand, in *potens*, just as in the simple *ens*, the sibilant is lost.

cases, where the *nt* or *t* of the suffix would be added to letter other than a or ā, prefixes to the suffix an *a* (compare §. 437. Remark, and §. 458.), or extends the verbal theme by the addition of an *a*; hence, e. g., *strinvant*, "strewing" (for *strinunt*), answers to the Greek base στορνυντ. The *e* of Latin participles of the third conjugation, *e.g.*, of *veh-e-ns, veh-e-ntem* (=Sanscrit *vah-a-n, vah-a-ntam*, Zend *vaz-a-nś, vaz-a-ntĕm*), is in origin identical with the class vowel *i* (from *a*, see §. 109ᵇ. 1.) of *veh-i-s, veh-i-t*, &c. (see §. 507.), and is based on the circumstance that before two consonants the Latin language prefers *l* to *i* (see §. 6.). In the fourth conjugation, *ie, e.g.*, in *aud-i-ens*, represents the Gothic *ya* and Sanscrit *aya* of forms like *sat-ya-nds*, "placing" = Sanscrit *sâd-aya-n*, "making to sit" (compare §. 505.). It does not require mention, that in verbs of the first and second conjugation the *a* and *e*, as in *am-a-ns, mon-e-ns*, belong to the conjugational syllable; the *a*, however, of *da-ns, sta-ns, fa-ns*, and *fla-ns*, to the root: and as little does it require notice, that in German and Lithuanian the vowel which precedes the *n* of the participle present is identical with that of the class syllable. Compare, in Gothic, *bair-a-nds*, "the carrying," *vahs-ya-nds* (Zend *ucs-ya-nś*), "the growing" (see §. 109ᵃ. 2.), *sat-ya-nds*, "the placing," "making to sit," *salb-ô-nds*, "the anointing," with *bair-a-m* (Sanscrit *bhar-â-mas*), "we carry," *vahs-ya-m*, "we grow," *sat-ya-m*, "we place" (Sanscrit *sâd-ayâ-mas*), *salb-ô-m*, "we anoint;" and in Lithuanian, *wez-a-ns*, "the conveying," with *wez-a-mé*, "we convey;" *myl-i-ns*, "the loving," with *myl-i-me*, "we love." With regard to the non-correspondence of the Lithuanian *es-a-ns*, "being," to *es-mi*, "I am," *es-me*, "we are," we must observe, that here an auxiliary vowel is necessary in the participle, which in the Sanscrit *s-a-n* (accusative *s-a-ntam*) occurs in the same form, while the Latin *-sens* places in its stead an *e*, and the Old Prussian *-sins* an *i*.

783. In Old Sclavonic, the so-called gerundives correspond to the participles of the kindred languages, and that of the present to the participle present active here under discussion. In the nominative singular masculine, where, *e.g.*, ВЕЗЫ *veʒy*, "*vehens*," answers to the Sanscrit *vahan*, Zend *vazanś*, Lithuanian *weżans*, and Gothic *vigands*, we should scarce observe the analogy of the Sclavonic form to those of the kindred languages, as, according to a universal law of sound, all final consonants in Sclavonic are suppressed*, but in the dual, ВЕЗѪШТА *veʒuńshcha*†, corresponds to the Vêdian *vahantâ* and Zend *vazanta*; and in the plural, ВЕЗѪШТЕ (*veʒuńshche*) answers to the Sanscrit *vahant-as*, and Greek ἔχοντ-ες (see p. 618, Note 3.); where it is to be observed, that Щ *shch* more frequently occurs as the euphonic alteration of *t* (Dobrowsky, p. 39, Kopitar, p. 53), just as *d*, under similar circumstances, becomes ЖД *schd*: a sibilant, therefore, is prefixed to the *T*-sound, and, besides, the original *t* is changed into *ch*, as in Lithuanian likewise the latter is used before *i*, with a vowel following.

* See §. 255. l. I now think that the monosyllabic words also must be subjected to the universal law, as I no longer recognise in the forms НАС *nas* and ВАС *vas* of the genitive and locative plural of the two first persons the Sanscrit secondary forms *nas* and *vas*, but I refer the С *s* of the genitive to the Sanscrit pronominal genitive termination *sâm*, and that of the locative to the Sanscrit locative termination *su*. The fact that the *s* of these terminations is elsewhere changed into χ *ch* (see §§. 255. m. 279. and p. 355, Note 6.), and that in Sanscrit the genitive termination *sâm* occurs only in pronouns of the third person plural, conceals the causal nature of the ending of the forms НАСЪ *na-s*, ВАСЪ *va-s*; but in Old Prussian also the ending साम् *sâm*, in the form much nearer to the Sanscrit *son*, has made its way into the pronouns of the first and second person; hence here are found *nou-son*, ἡμῶν, *iou-son*, ὑμῶν, after the analogy of *stei-son*, τῶν=Sanscrit *te-sham*, answering to the Sclavonic НАСЪ *na-s* and ВАСЪ *va-s*.

† As to Ѫ=*uń*, see the Remark at the end of the preceding §.

Compare, therefore, in this respect, the dual ВЕЗѧШТА *veζuńshcha* with the Lithuanian *weźanchiu*. It is probable that in Sclavonic also, as well as in Lithuanian, a *y*, or the syllable *ya*, has, in the oblique cases, mingled with the *t* of the participial suffix, and under the influence of the *y* the preceding *t* has become ш *shch*. So in Dobrowsky's third conjugation, in which, in the first person present, a *y* is found before the termination *uń*, forms occur like МѧШѧ *muńshchuń*, "*turbo*," euphonic for *muńtyuń*, infinitive *muńt-i-ti**. In the feminine singular the gerundive spoken of is ВЕЗѧШИ *veζuńshchi*=Lithuanian *weźanti*, "the conveying" (genitive *weźanchiôs*), Sanscrit *vahantî*.

Remark 1. Dobrowsky, to whose grammar I was circumscribed in treating (§. 155.) of the Old Sclavonic alphabet, makes neither an orthographical nor a phonetic distinction between ѧ and оу, or ꙋ, and never uses the first-mentioned letter, as he everywhere writes ю for ѣѧ. It is now, however, generally supposed, and I think with good reason, that the vowels ѧ (with *y*, ѣѧ) and ѧ (with *y*, ѣѧ) contain a nasal, as was first discovered by Vostokov, but still held by Kopitar (Glagolita, p. 52) to be doubtful. It is, however, certain that the vowels ѧ, ѣѧ, ѧ, ѣѧ, in the Old Sclavonic Grammar, as Kopitar has informed us, occur scarce anywhere but where the Polish has vowels with a nasal; and comparison with the ancient allied languages leads us to expect a nasal, for which reason I have before assumed a corruption of *on* (from *an*) to *û* (see §. 155. 8.). On the other hand, however, оу, or ꙋ, and the *û* contained in ю (*yû*), wherever these letters occur in Old Sclavonic in their proper place, in forms which admit of comparison usually, according to etymology, represent the Sanscrit ओ *ô* (for *a*+*u*), or its resolved form *âv*; hence, *e.g.*, оУ҆СТА *ûsta* (neuter plural), "mouth"=*óshṭha*," "lip" (Theme); ҁоУТИ *srû-ti*, "to hear"='*rótum* (irrespective of the infinitive suffix); ВОУДИТИ *bûd-i-ti*, "to wake"=*bódayitum*; ШОУИ *shûi*, left"=*savya*. So in the termination of the genitive locative dual, where, *e.g.*, ОВОІО "*amborum, in ambobus*," answers to the Sanscrit *ubhayôs*, and Zend *ubôyô* (see §. 273.). Now let us examine the cases in which nasalized vowels, the nasal of which I now

* Miklosich compares the Sanscrit root *manth*, "to shake;" and ѧ *uń* therefore stands for the Sanscrit *an*. See the note to the preceding §.

express, as in Lithuanian, by *n* (see §. 10.), in grammatical terminations or suffixes, correspond to a Sanscrit *n* or *m* with a preceding vowel (*a* or *â*). There appear, therefore, if I have not overlooked any thing, the following:—

1. Accusative singular of feminine bases in *a*; *e.g.*, ВДОВѫ *vdovun*, "*viduam*"=*vidhavâm*.*
2. Accusative singular of pronouns of the first and second person: Мѧ *man*, Тѧ *tan*=Sanscrit *mâm*, *tvâm*; like the reflexive ⁊ѧ *san*.
3. Accusative plural of masculine pronominal bases of the third person in *ya*, and therefore also of definite adjectives compounded with the base *ya*. Compare ѩ *yan*, "*eos*," with the corresponding Sanscrit *yân*, "*quos*," and Old Prussian accusatives like *scha-ns*, *schi-ns*, "*hos*," *wira-ns*, "*viros*," Gothic *vaira-ns* (see §. 236.).
4. First person singular present, where ѫ *un*=Sanscrit *âmi*; *e.g.*, *veʒun*=*vahâmi*; ѥѫ *ayun*=*ayâmi*, e.g., *rydayun*=*rôdayâmi* (see §. 766.).
5. Third person plural of the present, where ѫть *unty*=Sanscrit *anti*; *e.g.*, вeʒѫть *veʒunty*=*vahanti*; and in Dobrowsky's third conjugation (see Kopitar, p. 61), ѩть *yanty*=Sanscrit *ayanti*.
6. The above-mentioned gerundive or participle present.

The nasal vowel in the genitive singular and nominative accusative plural of feminine bases in *ya*, *e.g.*, in ВОѦѦ *volyan*, "*voluntatis*," and "*voluntates* (nom. acc.), appears surprising. If we consider, however, that in the three cases spoken of the Sanscrit grammar exhibits a final *s*, which is also contained in the Lithuanian and Lettish, which approximate closely to the Sclavonic languages, as also in Gothic in all the words which cor-

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* Compare §. 266. The Polish also, in the corresponding forms, has a written nasal vowel, though now, at the end of a word, the nasals, though written, are no longer pronounced; just as in the instrumental, where I regard the Sclavonic *vdo-voy-un*=Sanscrit *vidhavay-â* as joining to the old instrumental termination the new also, with a corruption of the *my* (Dobr. gives only *m*) to the now probably very weak nasal sound *n*. Remark, that in the plural instrumental, the feminines, especially rather than the masculines and neuters, have the termination *mi* (see p. 349); for which, in Lithuanian, both in masculine and feminine, stands *mis*, only that the masculines in *a* have contracted *a-mis* to *ais*.

respond to the Sanscrit feminine bases in *ā**, we are led to infer the nasalization of a final *s*, as in the Prâkrit instrumental termination *hiñ* = Sanscrit *bhis* (see §. 220.). The *y* especially appears to have protected the nasalized vowels which follow it, as we may conclude from No. 3. and the gerundives mentioned below (Remark 2.). A place where the Old Sclavonic has a nasal vowel at the end of a word, while the Sanscrit has a simple vowel, occurs in the nominative and accusative singular of neuter bases in *n*; in ИМѦ *imaṅ*, "*nomen*" (from the base *imen* from *iman*), answering to the Sanscrit *nâma*, from *nâman*. Here, however, the nasal of the Sclavonic nominative and accusative cannot surprise us, as it belongs to the base word, and the Latin also has firmly preserved the *n* of the base in the nominative and accusative singular neuter. Thus, as in Latin, *nomen*, *semen*, opposed to *homo*, *sermo*, &c., so ИМѦ *imaṅ*, ꙗ̀ѢМѦ *syemaṅ*, opposed to ѪАМЪІ *kamy*, "stone," from *kamen*.

Remark 2. The verb substantive gives ꙗ̀ЪІ *sy* = Sanscrit *san*, Lithuanian *seṅs*, and in the feminine ꙗ̀ѫщи *sunshchi* = सती *satî* (for *santî*), *senti*. After the *y* in the nominative masculine the nasal and the old *a* remains; hence ВИѦ *biyan*, "*cædens*," feminine ВИѭщи *biyunshchi*. In Dobrowsky's third conjugation the ѣ extends also to the other forms with щ; hence ВОЛѢѦ *volyaṅ*, "*volens*;" ВОЛѢѦЩЕ *volyaṅshche*, "*volentes*;" ВОЛѢѦЩИ *volyanshchi*, *ἐθέλουσα*. As regards the use of the gerund, it is limited to those constructions in which the participle present stands as predicate, and in German the uninflected form of the participle is used; hence (Luc. xxiv. 13.) ВѢꙗ̀ТА ИДѫщА *byesta iduṅshcha*, "they (two) were going," is the translation of the Greek ἦσαν πορευόμενοι, only with this point of difference, in which the Greek is inferior, that the Sclavonic has the dual of the verb as well as that of the participle. Where the participle stands as epithet or substantively, the Sclavonic uses the definite form of the participle (see §. 284.), and in this the participle is fully declined; thus, l. c., κώμην ἀπέχουσαν is rendered ВЬꙗ̀Ь ОТЪꙗ̀ТОѦЩѪѦѪ *vysyotstoyaṅshchuṅyuṅ*.

784. The same suffix that forms the present participle

* So, in Lettish, *akka-s* is both the genitive singular and the nominative and accusative plural of *akka*, "spring of water" (compare Latin *aqua*, Gothic *ahva*, "stream," genitive singular and nominative, accusative plural *ah-vô-s*; Lithuanian *upê*, "stream;" Sanscrit *ap*, "water").

is added in Sanscrit and Zend to the theme of the auxiliary future; just as in Greek and Lithuanian, where δώ-σω-ν, δώ-σον-τα, dů-se-ns, dů-se-ntiń, correspond to the Sanscrit *dâ-sya-n, dâ-sya-ntam.* In the feminine the Lithuanian *dů-se-nti,* "the (woman) about to give," answers admirably to the Sanscrit *dâ-sya-ntî; deg-se-ns,* "the (man) about to burn," accusative *deg-se-ntiń,* answers to the Sanscrit *dhak-shya-n, dhak-shya-ntam;** and in the feminine, *deg-se-nti* to *dhak-shya-ntî.* The Lithuanian root *bu,* "to be," gives *bu-se-ns,* "*futurus,*" *bu-se-nti,* "*futura,*" as analogous to the Zend *bû-sya-ns, bû-syai-nti.* Somewhat further off lies the Sanscrit *bhav-i-shya-n, bhav-i-shya-ntî,* on account of the Guna of the radical vowel, the insertion of the vowel of conjunction, and the suppression of the nominative sign in the masculine. As regards the *e* of Lithuanian future participles like *dů-se-ns, bu-se-ns,* I see in it, not a corruption of the *i* of indicative forms like *dů-si-me,* "*dabimus*" (see §. 652.), but a corruption of the *a* of Sanscrit bases like *dâ-sya-nt*: it is therefore identical with the *o* of the Greek δω-σο-ντ; and the Lettish also gives an *o* for this Lithuanian *e,* as to the *a,* also, of the present participle it opposes an *o,* while for the *i* of the future indicative it has, in like manner, *i*; *e. g. buhschots,* "*futurus*" = Lithuanian *busens; buhschoti,* "*futura*" = *bysenti*; as *essots,* "being" = *esans,* feminine *essoti* = *esant.*†

* See §§. 21. and 104.

† The future participle in Lettish occurs only in paraphrasing the conjunctive, and the present participle also has the feminine form in *ti* only in this kind of phrase, but elsewhere *scha,* which, in my opinion, comes from *schia,* and this from *schi*; so that under the influence of the *i,* with a vowel following it, the *t* is changed into *sch,* as in Lithuanian into *ch* (genitive *esanchios* = Lettish *essochas*). Refer to what has been said before (§. 783.) regarding the origin of the щ *shch* in the Sclavonic gerund. The coincidence of the Lettish feminine termination *scha* with the Greek σα,

785. The aorist tenses in Sanscrit have left us no participles; and the Greek language, by forms like λύσας, λιπών, φυγών, τυπών, maintains a superiority over the Sanscrit. As, however, the first aorist in Greek contains the verb substantive (see §. 542.), we may compare σας, σαντα, σαντες, &c., with the Sanscrit *san, santam, santas.* The forms which appear in composition maintain a similar superiority over the simple ὤν, ὄντος, with respect to the more true preservation of the ancient form, to that which the Latin *sens* of *præsens, absens,* does over the simple *ens.* In respect to the accent, and the pure radical vowel, Greek participles of the second aorist like λιπών, φυγών, opposed to λείπων, φεύγων, answer to Sanscrit participles of the sixth class like *tudán,* "the pushing," accusative *tudántam.* As in the Vêda dialect many verbs occur in conjugational classes other than those which they follow in the common dialect, I still hesitate to concur with Benfey in considering participles like *vṛidhánt,* "increasing," *dhṛishánt,* "daring," in the weak cases *vṛidhát, dhṛishát,* as aorist participles, though in no other case have the roots in question been shewn to belong to the sixth class. If, however, they are really aorist participles, then *dhṛishamâṇa-s* (Rig. V. I. 52. 5.; probably to be accented *dhṛishámâṇa*), also a middle aorist participle of the sixth formation, though in the common dialect, having no middle voice, belongs to this formation in the indicative. The root *pâ,* "to drink," whence *pivâmi* (Vêd. *pibâmi* from *pipâmi*), in the Vêda dialect follows also the second class, as is clear from *pâthâ,* "ye drink" (Vêd. *thâ* for *tha,* Rig. V. I. 86. 1.); whence I cannot concur with Benfey in ascribing the participle *pấntam,* "bibentem," to the aorist, and just as little can I allot to it the imperative

σα, in forms like τύπτουσα, τύψουσα, is also remarkable. This σα was probably preceded by a form σια (compare τρια=Sanscrit *trí*, §. 119.), so that the σ was produced from τ by the influence of the ι following.

pâhí, "*bibe*," which likewise belongs to the present of the second class. With respect to the accentuation of the participle present active, I must draw notice to the fact that the Greek conjugation in *μι* agrees with the corresponding Sanscrit conjugation in this (the reduplicated verbs excepted), that it accents the second syllable of the participle in question, and that therefore, in this respect, *στορνύς, στορνύντα*, stand in the same relation to *φέρων, φέροντα*, as, in Sanscrit, *stṛinván, stṛinvántam*, to *bhúran, bhúrantam*. The Sanscrit, however, differs from the Greek in allowing, in the weakest cases (see §. 130.), the accent to sink down to the case syllable; hence in the genitive singular and accusative plural *stṛi-ṇva-tás* opposed to *στορ-νύ-ντος, στορ-νύ-ντας*. The Sanscrit differs from the Greek also in this, that in the accentuation of the participle present (the theory of the weakest cases excluded) it is governed by that of the corresponding tense; thus, *bódh-a-n, tud-á-n, shúchyan, chôr-áya-n*, according to *bódh-á-mi, tud-á-mi, śúch-yâ-mi, chôr-áyâ-mi*. In the second conjugation (see §. 493.) the participle present is governed with respect to its accent by the heavy terminations, especially by that of the third person plural, and, in irregular verbs, participates also in the abbreviations, which the root experiences before heavy terminations: hence from *vášmi*, "I will," comes not *vášant*, but *uśánt*, "willing," according to the analogy of *uśmás, ushṭhá, uśánti*. The third class has, as well in the entire singular (with few exceptions) as in the third person plural and in the participle present, the accent on the syllable of reduplication; hence *dádâmi*, "I give," *dádati*, "they give" (see §. 459.), *dádat*, "the giving" (see §. 779. Note), the latter opposed to the Greek *διδούς, τιθείς*, while *dádâmi, dádhâmi*, agree with *δίδωμι, τίθημι*.

Remark. The principle of Sanscrit accentuation appears to me to be this, that the farther the accent is thrown back, the graver and more

powerful the accent; and I believe I may assert the same principle in Greek also; only that here, out of regard for the harmony and euphony of the word, the accent in polysyllabic words cannot overstep the limit of the third syllable, while the Sanscrit places the accent on the first syllable, without reference to the extent of the word, and contrasts *bárâmahê* with the Greek *φερόμεθα*. A very striking proof of the dignity and energy of the accentuation of initial parts of words, and, at the same time, a very remarkable point of agreement between Sanscrit and Greek accentuation, is afforded by the circumstance, that both languages, in the declension of monosyllabic words in the strong cases (see §. 129.), which, with respect to their accentuation, are, as it were, pointed out by the genius of the language as the most important, lay the accent on the base, but in the weak cases allow it to fall on the case termination. Here, however, the accusative plural, though in respect to sound it belongs to the weak cases, yet passes, as regards accent, in most monosyllabic words in Sanscrit, as in Greek, for a strong case*; which cannot surprise us, as this case in the singular and dual belongs, in each respect, to the strong cases. Compare the declension of *vâch*, fem., "speech," "voice," with the Greek *ὀπ* (from *Fοπ* for *Fοκ*, Latin, *voc*).

SINGULAR.				PLURAL.			
SANSCRIT.		GREEK.		SANSCRIT.		GREEK.	
N. V.	*vák*	N. V.	ὄψ	N. V.	*vâchas*	N. V.	ὄπες
Acc.	*vâcham*	Acc.	ὄπα	Acc.	*vâchas*	Acc.	ὄπας
Instr.	*vâchâ*		. . .	Instr.	*vâgbhis*		. . .
Dat.	*vâchê*		. . .	D. Abl.	*vâgbhyás*		. . .
Gen. Abl.	*vâchás*	Gen.	*ὀπ-ός*	Gen.	*vâchâm*	Gen.	ὀπῶν
Loc.	*vâchí*	D.	*ὀπ-ί*	Loc.	*vâkshú*	Dat.	ὀψί

DUAL.

SANSCRIT.		GREEK.	
N. A. V.	*vâchâu* Vêd. *vâchâ*	N. A. V.	ὄπε
I. D. A.	*vâgbhyâm*	D. G.	ὀποῖν
Gen. Loc.	*vâchós.*		. . .

I consider as a consequence of the emphasis, which lies in the accentuation of the beginning of a word, the circumstance that active verbs, to

* See the exceptions in Böhtlingk, "*A first attempt as to the Accent in Sanscrit*" (St. Petersburg, 1845), §. 14.

which the middle verbs also belong, in Sanscrit principally accent the first syllable, so that, therefore, the energy of the action is represented by the energy of the accentuation; and I perceive an agreement of the Greek accentuation with the Sanscrit in this, that Greek verbs throw back the accent as far as possible. In dissyllabic and trisyllabic forms, therefore, the two languages usually agree most fully in their accentuation of verbs. Compare εἶμι with *émi*, δίδωμι with *dádâmi*, τίθημι with *dádhâmi*, φέρομεν with *bhárâmas*, ἔφερον with *ábharam*. In forms of more than three syllables the Greek approaches the Sanscrit as closely as, without a violation of the fundamental law of its system of accentuation, is possible; hence the already-mentioned φερόμεθα compared with *bhárâmahê* (from *-madhê*, see §. 472.), and also ἐφερόμεθα compared with *ábharâmahi*. A quite similar agreement, together with a similar contrast, appears between the Greek and Sanscrit accentuation in cases in which the Greek, in accordance with the Sanscrit principle, throws back the accent of the base word in the vocative.* This evidently happens, in both languages, in order to give emphasis to the name of the person called, and to bring it prominently forward by the voice; and in the vocative, in the three numbers of all words, the Sanscrit (where this case is specially accented) always accents the first syllable, however long the word be, and wherever the accent may fall in the other cases. To the nominatives *pitâ*, *mâtâ*, *duhitâ* (acc. *pitáram*, *mâtáram*, *duhitâram*) correspond the vocatives *pitar*, *mâtar*, *dúhitar*, with which the corresponding Greek vocatives πάτερ, μῆτερ, θύγατερ—as compared with πατήρ, πατέρα, μήτηρ (for μητήρ), μητέρα, θυγάτηρ (for θυγατήρ), θυγατέρα,—stand in surprising agreement; and this is the more remarkable, as the words denoting affinity in our family of languages belong also, in another respect, to those expressions which have preserved the ancient stamp with astonishing fidelity. While, however, the Sanscrit also exhibits vocatives like *vishvamitra*, the Greek, owing to accentual limits prescribed to it, can only shew such as Ἀγάμεμνον, which, however, does not prevent us from recognising, even in forms of this kind, the agreement of the Greek and Sanscrit vocative theory; and just as little, in my opinion, could forms like φερόμεθα compared with *bhárâmahê* cause us to overlook the affinity of Greek and Sanscrit verbal accentuation. The principal part of the Sanscrit first conjugation (see §. 493.) is formed by the first class, which comprehends almost one half of the whole number of roots, and to which,

* Compare Benfey in the "*Halle Journal of General Literature*," May 1845, p. 907.

with few exceptions, all the German strong verbs belong (see §. 109ª. 1.): these in the special tenses throughout accent the first syllable. The sixth class, which is properly only an offshoot of the first, and contains, as it were, the diseased members of that class (about 140 roots), has, with the Guna, put off also the accenting of the radical vowel, and accents instead the class vowel, only that the augment, as well in the imperfect as in the aorist in all classes of verbs, has the accent; hence, *tudâmi*, "*tundo*," *tudâsi*, "*tundis*," opposed to *bódhâmi*, "*scio*," *bôdhâsi*, "*scis*." The passive accents its characteristic *ya*, and therefore the second syllable instead of the first, undoubtedly because in it the energy of self-exertion is lost: this is evident from the fact, that verbs of the fourth class, though their middle is literatim the same as the passive, nevertheless accent the first syllable; hence, *śúchyatê*, "*purificat*," opposed to *śuchyátê*, "*purificatur*." It is also of some importance for the support of my view of the meaning of Sanscrit accentuation, that when the passive is used as reflexive, the accent may be thrown back on the radical syllable, though only in roots terminating in a vowel, or which drop their final consonant. Desideratives and intensives, excepting the deponent of the latter, as is natural from the energy inherent in them, hold fast to the general principle of throwing back the accent as far as possible; hence *pipâsâmi*, "I wish to drink;" *bíbhêdmi*, "I cleave" (intens.). As to the fact, however, that verbs of the tenth class, though they Gunise the radical syllable, still throw the accent on the second (*chórâyâmi*, "I steal," not *chórayâmi*), we may suppose that these verbs feel themselves to be compounds, and in a measure determinatives; and as such, in accordance with the prevailing principle of compounds, accent the last member of the compound,* but the first syllable of it in order to comply with the fundamental rule of verbal accentuation. The same syllable, in my opinion, is accented in denominatives formed by *ya* for the same reason (*putrîyáti*). I consider it as another consequence of the composition that the auxiliary future accents not the first syllable of the whole compound, but the auxiliary verb, whether it begins with the second or the third syllable of the whole expression; while the Greek, through all tenses, retains the fundamental principle of verbal accentuation; hence, δώσω, δώσομεν, compared with *dâsyâmi*, *dâsyâmas*, and forms like *tanishyâmi* ("*extendam*"), *tanishyâmas*. So in Sanscrit the auxiliary verb, which is added in the potential (optative) and precative (aorist of the potential=optative), viz. the syllable *yâ*, draws the accent upon itself; hence, *dadyât*, "*det*" (διδοίη), precative

* See Aufrecht "*De Accentu compositorum Sanscriticorum*," p. 5.

dêyât (δοίη), *bhûyâma*, "*simus.*"* On the other hand, in cases where the modal element coalesces with the preceding class vowel into a diphthong, the accent remains on the same syllable as is accented in the indicative; thus, *bhárês*, *bhárêt*, *bhárêma*=φέροις, φέροι, φέροιμεν: on the other hand, *tudés*, *tudêt*, &c., according to the analogy of *tudási*, *tudáti*. The analogy of the sixth class is followed by the potentials of the aorist of the sixth formation peculiar to the Vêda dialect; hence, *śakéma*, "*possimus.*"

In the six classes of verbs belonging to the Sanscrit second conjugation (see §. 493.), as also in the perfect of all verbs, the heavy personal terminations exercise a similar influence on the attraction of the accent to that manifested in Greek in all classes of words by the length of the final syllable, only that the heavy personal terminations in Sanscrit not only attract the accent, but appropriate it, and, if dissyllabic, to their first syllable. In this way *émi* (=εἶμι), *dádâmi* (=δίδωμι), *jáhâmi*, "abandon," are in the plural *imás*, *dadmás* (for *dadâmás*, middle *dadmáhi*,† *jahímás*. In the fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth class, as also in the perfect, the Guna syllable, or the heavier class affix or insertion, exercises an influence in throwing back the accent; hence, *chinómi*, "I collect" (plural *chinumás*); *yunájmi*, "I bind" (plural *yuñjmás*); *tanómi*, "I extend" (plural *tanumás*); *yunâmi*, "I bind" (plural *yunîmás*); *tutóda*, "I did thrust" (plural *tutudimá*), instead of the forms *chinómi*, *yúnajmi*, &c., which, according to the fundamental principle of verbal accentuation, would be looked for. The heavy suffix of the participle present (*nt*, *ant*), the *a* of which, just like that of the third person plural, is viewed, with respect to the accentuation, as an essential portion of the termination, or of the suffix, follows, in the just-mentioned verbal classes, the analogy of the heavy personal terminations, especially that of the third person plural; but in the weak cases (with the exception of verbs of the third class) allows the accent to fall down to the case termination; and the feminine *î*, in case the suffix loses its *n*, follows the analogy of the weakest cases. The same principle is followed by the participle present of the sixth class.

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* Sâma Vêd. II. 6. 2. 16. 2. Remark the dropping of the *s* of the common dialect (*bhâyâsma*), as in Zend, see §. 701.

† Reduplicated roots accent only those heavy terminations which begin with a consonant, and accord to those commencing with a vowel no influence in casting back the accent. The vowel *a*, which precedes *n* in the third person plural, holds as regards the accentuation as belonging to the [illegible]onal termination. Hence *yânti*, "they go," compared with *éti*; [illegible]*ti* "they give" (see §. 459.) not *dadáti*, like *dádâti*, "he gives."

I annex the nominative, accusative, and genitive singular masculine (the neuter also of the genitive), and the feminine nominative in *î*: *dvishán, dvishántam, dvishatás, dvishatî; dádat, dádatam, dádatas, dádati; yuñ-ján, yuñjántam, yuñjatás, yuñjatî; chinván, chinvántam, chinvatás, chinvatî; tanván, tanvántam, tanvatás, tanvatî; yunán, yunántam, yunatás yunatî; tundán, tundántam, tundatás, tundántî.*—As in Greek, participles present active of the conjugation in *μι*, in agreement with the prevailing principle in the corresponding Sanscrit conjugation, accent the vowel which precedes the *ν*, instead of the first of the base-word, and στορνύς, στορνύντα, στορνύντε, στορνύντες, stand for comparison with the Sanscrit *strinván, strinvántam, strinvántâ* (in the Vêda dialect) *strinvántas*, it might be conjectured that originally the heavy personal terminations, as they exercise (see §. 480.), as in Sanscrit, a shortening influence on the preceding syllable, have also, in like manner, attracted to themselves the accent. Then the Doric forms διδόντι, τιθέντι, ἱστάντι, δεικνύντι, might be regarded as remnants of an older system of accentuation. In the opposite case, we must look upon Sanscrit forms like *strinumás*, compared with the Greek στόρνυμεν, as the consequence of an influence upon the accentuation exercised by the heavy personal terminations, and first accorded to them by the genius of the language after the separation of languages. I have no doubt that forms like *strinómi* (from *starnómi*= στόρνυμι), *yunájmi*, through the influence of the weight of the second syllable, first, after the separation of languages, transferred the accent from the first to the second syllable. This takes place also in some verbs of the third class, which we find, therefore, in this respect, as it were, in the period of transition from the original system of accentuation to that more recent, in which, in the second principal conjugation, the weight, of the second syllable has made its influence on the accentuation effectual. However, in the Vêda dialect, in those roots also which admit the accentuation of the radical syllable, the accenting of the syllable of reduplication seems principally to prevail. Benfey (*Glossary to the Sâma-Véda*, p. 139.) cites from *bhar, bri*, Class 3, the forms *bíbharshi*, "*fers*," *bíbhratê*, "*ferenti*," *bíbhratî*, "*ferentes*," (as Vêda pl. fem. for *bíbhratyas*), opposed to *bibhárti*, "*fert*."*

* We must not infer from *bibhárti*, and similar forms, that *ar* is really the Guna of *ri*: it is natural, however, that in parts of grammar where vowels capable of Guna receive it, that those verbs which admit of weakening should preserve the full form of the root, as *vaś*, "to will," becomes contracted to *uś* only in places which do not allow of Guna; hence,

A strong proof of the emphasis of the accentuation of the beginning of words (in Sanscrit always of the first syllable) is afforded in Sanscrit and Greek by the suffixing of the degrees of comparison, इयांस् *îyâṅs* (in the weak cases *îyas*), ιον, इष्ठ *ishṭha*, ιστο, which, where they are added, always require the accent to be thrown back as far as possible. Thus, in Sanscrit, from *svâdú*, "sweet"=ἡδύ, comes the comparative *svâdîyâṅs*, nominative masc. *svâdîyân*, and the superlative *svâdishṭha-s*. To the latter corresponds the Greek ἥδιστο-ς, and to the nominative and accusative neuter of the comparative *svâdîyas* the Greek ἥδιον; while ἡδίων, ἡδίονος, for well-known reasons, do not exhibit an agreement of accentuation with *svâdîyân*, *svâdîyasas*. The Greek degrees of comparison in τερο, τατο, follow essentially the same principle, *i. e.* they throw the accent as far back as possible, by which, however, only the syllable preceding the suffix is reached, so that the accent is often necessarily transferred from the beginning to the middle of a word, as in βεβαιότερος, βεβαιότατος, compared with βέβαιος. In Sanscrit, on the other hand, the degree suffixes, corresponding to the Greek τερο, ταο, exercise no influence at all on the accent; and the positive base retains the accent on the base in whatever part of the word soever the same may occur; thus the

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hence, *úsmás*, "we will," opposed to *vásmi*, "I will" (Comp. Vocalismus, p. 158). When Benfey, who, in the "*Halle Journal of General Literature*" (May 1845, p. 944) contrasts the Greek ὄρνυμι with the Sanscrit *ṛiṇómi*, remarks, that in Greek *ṛi* is Gunised, because it is accented, and that *u* is for the same reason Gunised in Sanscrit, I cannot assent to him in either point. In the first place, I recognise in forms like ὄρνῡμι, στόρνυμι (the latter= *stṛiṇómi*), no Guna, but only the discontinuance of the abbreviation of *ar* to *ṛi*, which was admitted in Sanscrit, just as in τρίτος compared with the Sanscrit *tritîyas* (Latin *tertius*, transposed from *tretius*, for *tritius*), the abbreviation of the syllable *ṛi* has ceased. In the second place, I cannot admit that forms like *ṛiṇómi*, *stṛiṇómi*, have, for this reason, Gunised the second syllable because it is accented; for if the accent occasioned the Guna, we should also expect for *bíbharshi* and *vivakti* (in the Vêda dialect), *bébharshi*, *vévakti*, and for desideratives like *pípâsâmi*, *pépâsâmi*. To me, therefore, the principle set forth above, viz. that the accenting of the first syllable belongs to the verb, but that heavy syllables have often destroyed the original accentuation, and appropriated the accent to themselves, appears far more natural. The Greek replaces the Guna of *ṛiṇómi*, *stṛiṇómi* by the lengthening of the vowel (στόρνῡμι opposed to στόρνῠμεν), but nevertheless preserves the original accentuation.

comparative and superlative of *mahât* (in the strong cases *mahânt*) are in the nominative masculine *mahâttaras, mahâttamas;* and the superlative of *vṝshan*, "liberal," "giving freely" (in the Vêda dialect), *vṝshantama-s*, genitive *vṝshantamasya* (Rig. V. I. 10. 10.). The reason that *tara* and *tama*, in Sanscrit, exercise no influence on the accentuation lies, in my opinion, in this, that these suffixes are rather enclitic in their nature, and have not grown up so inwardly united with the principal word, as the other more rare suffixes of comparison; as appears, also, from the circumstance that the feminine accusative *tarâm*, *tamâm*, may be added to verbs adverbially also; *e. g. vádatitamâm*, "he speaks very much."

A consequence of the emphasis which lies in accenting the beginning of a word is this, that abstract substantives, which frequently are merely intensifications of adjectives, affect, in Sanscrit and in Greek, this kind of accent. Thus the suffix *as*, in Sanscrit, is used especially in forming abstracts, and requires an accent on the first syllable of the word; as in *yáśasu*, "glory," compared with *yaśás*, "glorious" (the latter only in the Vêda dialect, see Benfey's Glossary), whence the comparative *yaśástara-s*, superlative *yaśástama-s*; thus, *ápas*, nominative "activity," "work," "offering" (Latin *opus*), compared with *apás* masculine "the active," "the warrior," "the sacrificer." As to Sanscrit neutral bases in *as* correspond the Greek in *os*, *ες*, *ε(σ)-ος* (see §. 128.), Benfey draws our notice, as regards the paroxytone accent of the abstracts spoken of, and the oxytone accent of the adjectives, to the relation of the Greek *ἄγος* to *ἀγής*. It may also be observed, that Greek bases in *os*, *ες*, when they form possessive compounds in combination with preceding words, usually throw the accent on the suffix, while other compounds of this kind accent the first member of the compound, or, at least, throw back the accent as far as possible; thus *εὐρυσθενής*, *μεγαλοσθενής*, *μεγαθαρσής*, *δυσκλεής*, *εὐκλεής*, compared with forms like *μεγάθυμος*, *μεγάδωρος*, *μεγαλόδωρος*, *μεγαλόδοξος*, *αἰολόμορφος*, *αἰολόπεπλος*, *αἰολοχαίτης*.

786. The suffix of the participle of the reduplicated preterite or perfect (see §. 588.) is, in Sanscrit, in the parasmâipadam or active (see §. 426.), according to the difference of case, *vâns*, *vat*, and *ush*, and in all these forms, according to the analogy of the heavy terminations of the indicative (see p. 1057), has the accent. Indian Grammarians, however, consider *vás* as the true form of the suffix, though it does not appear in this form in a single

case, but the strong cases spring from *vâńs**, the middle from *vát*, and the weakest from *úsh* (euphonic for *us*). From *úsh* comes also the feminine theme *úshî*, to which the Lithuanian *usi* is an admirable counterpart; hence *degusi*, "the having burned" = Sanscrit *dêhúshî*, for *dadahushî* (see §. 605.). The oblique cases of the Lithuanian feminine participle spring, for the most part, from an extended base *usia*; hence the genitive singular *degusiô-s*, as *rankô-s*, from *ranká*, "hand." Compare herewith the Greek *υια* of *τετυφυῖα*, which has been already elsewhere compared with the Sanscrit *tutupúshî*.†

787. With the weakest form of the Sanscrit participial suffix above mentioned are connected also, in Lithuanian, the oblique cases of the masculine, but with the same unorganic affix of *ia*, which, too, the participle present has retained; thus, genitive *degusio* (as *wilko* from *wilka-s*) corresponding to the Sanscrit *dêhúsh-as*, dative *deg-usia-m*‡, accusative *deg-usi-ń* for *deg-usia-ń*. The nominative *degeńs* is based on the Sanscrit strong theme *dêh-i-vâńs* (*i* as conjunctive vowel); but the *s* of the Lithuanian form scarcely belongs to the base, but is the sign of case, and extends, as in

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* The vocative singular, which in general disclaims long vowels (see §. 205.), shortens the long *â*; hence, *van* compared with the nominative *vân*, since anusvâra (*ń*) after the *s* is dropped (see §. 9.) becomes *n*. I am not inclined with Böhtlingk (Decl. p. 10) to represent *vans* as the original form of the suffix; for if, as we ought to be, we are guided by the strong cases, which in general, where different modifications of the theme occur, have preserved the original form, we must then take *vâńs* to be the ancient form, and allow that the vocative, as is its wont, has shortened the vowel, which perhaps is only a consequence of the emphasizing the beginning of the word in the vocative by accenting it. Böhtlingk also, in his zeal for the vocative, represents *îyańs* as the theme of the comparative suffix *îyâńs*, *îyas* (see §. 298.), the long *â* of which, in Latin, takes the form of *ô* in all the oblique cases.

† "*On the Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words*," p. 4.

‡ According to the analogy of the adjective declension, see § 281.

the participle present, to the vocative also; while the Sanscrit, as it cannot bear two consonants at the end of a word (see §. 94.), in both cases abandons both the nominative sign and the final consonant of the base; thus, nominative *dêh-i-vân*, vocative *dêh-i-van*, corresponding to the Lithuanian *deg-ẽs*.* The Zend, on the contrary, has retained

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* In the Old Prussian Catechism there occur two perfect participles in *wuns* very deserving of notice, viz. *klantîwuns*, "having cursed," and *murrawuns*, "having murmured," which stand nearer to the Sanscrit *vâns* than any other European kindred form. The *u* of *wuns*, as also that of the common form *uns* (after consonants also *ons*, and sometimes *ans*), is evidently, like the *e* of the Lithuanian *ẽns*, a weakening of *a*, originally *â;* as in *widdewu*, "widow"=Sanscrit *vidhavâ*, Latin *vidua*, and some similar feminine nominatives. The *u* of the plural *-usis*, accusative *usins*, and of the accusative singular *usin*, is, on the other hand, organic, and identical with the Sanscrit *u* of the base of the weakest case and of the feminine, as also with that of the corresponding forms in Lithuanian. Nesselmann ("*The Language of the Old Prussians*," p. 64) represents the participles in *uns* (*ons, ans, wuns*) as indeclinable, and takes *usis* as an independent form with declinable terminations. I, however, consider *wuns, uns, ons, ans*, as the singular nominative masculine, with *s* as the sign of case, as in Lithuanian *ẽns*. This participle seldom requires declension, as it is principally used for a periphrasis of the perfect indicative, and thus occurs in the nominative relation; *e.g.*, *asmai murrawuns bhe klantiwuns*, "I have murmured and cursed" (literally, "I am the person having murmured and cursed"). The nominative singular usually takes the place of the plural, as also in Lithuanian the present and perfect participles have lost the termination of the plural nominative, and in this case only have rejected the *s* of the nominative singular: hence, from *sukeñs*, "having turned," comes the plural *sukeñ*. Where, however, in Old Prussian, the plural relation of the participle perfect is really expressed, it ends in *usis*, probably from a lengthened base in *usi* (compare §. 780.); so that *i-s* of the Lithuanian plural termination corresponds to the *y-s* of bases in *i* (*awy-s*, "sheep," from the base *awi*). The examples occurring in the Old Prussian Catechism may be found in Nesselmann, p. 31, n. 84.: *madliti, tyt wirstai ious immusis; laukyti, tyt wirstai ious aupallusis*, "ask, and ye shall receive (be having received); seek, and ye shall find (be having found)." The future, which is wanting in Old Prussian,

the nominative sign in its participles; as, 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 *dadhvâo*, "having made," *vîd-vâo*, "knowing" (*εἰδώς*), which it has also done in the participle present, a point in which it is superior to the Sanscrit, and agrees with the Lithuanian, Latin, and Gothic; for from वान् *vân* is formed in Zend, not 𐬌𐬀𐬎 *vâo*, but 𐬌𐬀𐬯 *vaŋh*. It is clear, however, that the *o* of *vâo* does not represent the *s* of the theme of the strong cases, as the suffix *vant* also, in the nominative, forms *vâo* (compare Burnouf Yaçna, Note R. p. 128) In the accusative, 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬨𐬌𐬎𐬀 *dadhvâoṇhĕm* corresponds to the Sanscrit *dadh-i-vâńsam*; in the weakest cases, and before the feminine character *î*, the Zend suffix is contracted, like the Sanscrit suffix, to *ush**; hence, in the genitive 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬱𐬀 *dathushô* (Vend. S. p. 3. for *dadhushô*, see p. 965.

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sian, is always periphrastically expressed by the auxiliary verb signifying "to be," with the participle perfect; hence, p. 12, n. 15., *pergûbons wyrst*, "he is come" (is the person having come). The oblique cases of the perfect participle, from being little required, seldom occur, and spring likewise from the theme increased by *i*, while the Lithuanian adds *ia* to the base. The only instances that occur are, *au-lau-ûsi-ns*, "the slain" (*mortuos*, for which, also, *aulausins* and *aulauwussens*), and *ainan-gimm-usi-n*, "to those born in" (the place), the latter with passive signification, which, except in the root *gem*, *gim*, does not occur in this participle. If we should not admit a nominative plural in *usis*, the above-mentioned forms might then be taken as singular nominatives, with a plural signification. The circumstance, however, that the real and frequently-occurring singular nominative always terminates in *ns*, and that, too, the participle present leaves the old base (in *nt*) in the nominative singular unlengthened, and in the other cases lengthened only by *i*, is much opposed to this view.— The single feminine form of this participle which occurs deserves mention; viz. the nominative singular *aulausé*, "*mortua*," for *aulauusé*, as above *aulau-sins* together with *aulauusins*. The final *é* corresponds, therefore, to the Sanscrit *î* and Lithuanian *i* of feminine forms in *ushî*, *usi*.

* The lithographed Codex of the Vendidad Sadé has, almost in all places, 𐬰 *s* for 𐬱 *sh*: I, however, agree with Burnouf in reading 𐬱 *sh* as probably the sole correct reading.

Note*); in the dative 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬌 *vîdushê*, "to the knowing" (l. c. p. 214.)=विदुषे *vidúshê* (εἰδότι); in the genitive plural 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬞𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬱 *irîrithushaṅm*, "of the dead" (l. c. p. 101); in the genitive singular feminine 𐬚𐬀𐬜𐬙𐬵𐬎𐬵𐬱𐬌𐬵𐬚𐬀𐬎 *jaghmûshyâo* (l. c. p. 91. twice, and 304. twice)*=Sanscrit *jagmushyâs*, from *gam*, "to go"; in the accusative feminine 𐬬𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬱𐬌𐬵𐬚𐬀𐬨 *vîthushîm*=Sanscrit *vidúshîm*, from *vid*, "to know" (l. c. p. 469).

788. With the contracted form उष् *ush* of the suffix here spoken of is connected a word which appears in Gothic as a solitary remnant of an obsolete participial gender, and corresponds in a remarkable manner with Sanscrit forms like *dêhúsh* (theme of the weakest cases) from *dah*; I mean, *bêrusyôs*, "the parents," occuring only in the nominative plural masculine, and which, I have no doubt, properly signifies "the having given birth to;" and, with respect to its radical vowel, corresponds to the polysyllabic forms of the preterite of *baira* (*bar*, plural *bêrum*, conjugational singular *bêr-yan*, plural *bêr-ei-ma* (see §. 605.). The theme is *bêrusya*, which corresponds in its unorganic affix *ya* to the above-mentioned (§. 787.) Lithuanian *ia*; *e. g.* of *deg-usia*, dative *deg-usia-mo*. The nominative singular, according to §. 135. would be *bêr-useis*, and the accusative *bêrusi*, the latter like the Lithuanian *degusi-ń*.

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* With regard to the long *û* of *jaghmûshyâo*, let it be noticed that the sibilant is here followed by a semi-vowel, since, as it appears, a lengthening of the *u*, which is, in Sanscrit, always short, occurs especially before two consonants; hence, also, Vendidad Sadé, p. 515, 𐬚𐬀𐬜𐬙𐬵𐬎𐬵𐬱𐬌𐬵𐬚𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬙𐬌 *jaghmûštĕmô* (with 𐬵 *š* for 𐬱 *s*), a superlative formed from the weakest theme; and p. 525, *dadûschbîs*, an interesting form; whence it is clear that in Zend also the middle cases (see §. 130.) of this participle spring from the weakest theme. There occurs, however, a long *û* in *pipyûshîm*, without the occasion of two following consonants, as also in its negative *apipyûshîm* (Vend. S. p. 429), from *pê*, "to drink," with a causal meaning ("the having sucked"). Perhaps the circumstance that two consonants precede has its influence.

789. To the form *vát*, whence come in Sanscrit the middle cases of the perfect participle*, belongs the Greek ὁτ, which has preserved the ancient accent (see §. 786.); but after losing the digamma, which is generally lost in the middle of words, in case it does not assimilate with a preceding consonant (see τέσσαρες, §. 312.), as, for instance, also in the suffix ϵντ = Sanscrit *vant* (of the strong cases): thus, the same relation that ἀμπελό(*F*)ϵντ has to Sanscrit forms like *dhána-vant* ("endowed with riches," see §. 20.), τετυφ-(*F*)ότ has to *tutupvát*, to which, as nominative, accusative, and vocative, in Greek, τετυφός corresponds (see §. 152.). To the plural locative *tutup-vát-su* corresponds the Greek dative τετυφ-ό(τ)-σι. Mention has already been made of the feminine form in νῖα, as abbreviation of νσια, and of the affinity, as regards formation, of τετυφνῖα with the Sanscrit *tutupúshî* (see §. 786.). The Latin, perhaps, in *secûri-s* presents a remnant of these feminine participles in *ushî* (euphonic for *usi*), and the proper translation, therefore, is, perhaps, "the cutting" (instead of "the having cut"), the *u* being lengthened, and the sibilant being changed between two vowels into *r*.† As several participial suffixes are often used also in the formation of derivative words, there is, therefore, ground for comparing the suffix *ôsu* in words like *lapid-ôsus, lumin-ôsus, fructu-ôsus, form'-ôsus, pisc'-ôsus*, with the Sanscrit *vâns* of the strong cases, to which it has nearly the same relation that the comparative suffix *iôr* has to ईयांस् *îyâns* (see §. 298.),

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* See §. 130., where it must be also noticed that the nominative, accusative, and vocative singular of neuters in the threefold theme gradation always are connected with the middle form.

† See §. 22. In the Vêda dialect there are abstract substantives in *ushî*, with the accent on the radical syllable (see p. 1059); as, *tápushî*, "ire" (properly, "the burning"), from *tap*, "to burn;" *tárushî*, "strife," from *tar* (*tṛi* तॄ), "to overstep."

only that the original sibilant is retained, though the *v* is lost, just as in *sopio*=*svapimi*; *soro*, *sorôrem*=*svasâr*, *svasâram*; *sol*=*svar*, "heaven" (from *sur*, and this from *svar*, "to shine"), Zend *hvarĕ*, "the sun." With respect to the prolongation of the suffix by a vowel affix, compare the relation of the suffix *tûru* to *tôr*, Sanscrit *târ* (see §. 647.).

790. In Old Sclavonic the gerundive preterite corresponds to the participle here spoken of, as is most clearly apparent in the feminine singular form, in which, in verbal bases ending in a vowel, ВЪШИ *vshi* corresponds to the Sanscrit-Zend *ushî*, and Lithuanian *usi*. Compare ВЪІВЪШИ *by-vshi*, "having been" (feminine) with the Sanscrit बभूवुषी *babhûv-úshî*, and Lithuanian *buw-usi*. In the nominative plural masculine (used also for the feminine), ВЪШЕ *vshe*—with *e* as the termination of case = Sanscrit *as*, Greek ες—answers to the Sanscrit *vânsas*, and therefore ВЪІВШЕ *by-vshe* to *babhû-vánsas*; on the other hand, in the singular the sibilant is lost in the nominative masculine; thus, ВЪІВЪ *by-v* corresponding to the Sanscrit *babhû-ván* and Lithuanian *buw-eńs* (see §. 787.), where it must be observed that generally the Sclavonic has lost the original final consonant, so that the *s* also of the Lithuanian *buw-eńs* belongs not to the suffix, but to the case sign. After consonants the *v* of the gerundive suffix is suppressed; hence, *e.g.*, НЕСЪ *nes*, "having carried" (for *nes-v*), plural НЕСЪШЕ *nesshe* (for НЕСВЪШЕ *nesvshe*), feminine singular НЕСЪШИ *nesshi* (for *nes-vshi*).

Remark. In the Sclavonic that tense of the indicative is wanting whence the past participle or gerundive has proceeded: on the other hand, I am now of opinion that the Lithuanian perfect (also aorist), which I formerly compared with the Sanscrit first augmented preterite (Greek imperfect), must be compared with the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite, Greek perfect and Gothic preterite of the strong conjugation. I assume, therefore, that in *buwau*, "I was," or "I have been," instead of the

augment, the syllable of reduplication is dropped, as in Gothic preterites like *baug*, "I bent," *bugum*, "we bent"=Sanscrit *bubhójа*, *bubhujimá*; and I compare it with the Sanscrit *babhúva*, to which, with regard to its medial *u*, it corresponds better than to the imperfect *ábhavam*. *Buwau* does indeed closely resemble also the Sanscrit aorist *ábhûvam*, but in the third person *buw-o* answers better to *babhûv-a* than to *ábhût*; and in both the plural numbers the forms given above (p. 762) answer better to *babhûv-i-vá* (from *-a-va*) *babhûv-a-thús* (from *-thas*), *babhûv-i-má* (from *-a-ma*), *babhûv-a-(ta)*, than to *ábhûtam*, *ábhû-ma*, *ábhû-ta*. The conjecture that the Lithuanian perfect belongs to the universal tenses, and not to the imperfect, is also confirmed by the consideration that the imperfect in Sanscrit and Greek always takes part in the base of the present, *i.e.* in the class peculiarities, while the Lithuanian preterite, which is called perfect, does not; hence the perfect of *gáu-nu*, "I am acquainted with," which corresponds to Greek verbs like δάκ-νω, Latin like *ster-no* (see p. 718), is not *gau-nau*, but *gaw-aù* (future *gáu-su*). In the perfect, too, *t* or *st* of the present base is dropped, which formerly, when we sought to compare this tense with the Sanscrit-Greek imperfect, appeared a difficulty (see §. 498.). As to the circumstance that the *y* or *i* (see p. 722) compared with the Sanscrit fourth class is retained in the perfect, and that from *liepyu*, "I order," comes the perfect *liepyau* (future *liepsu*); from *traukiu*, "I draw," the perfect *traukiau* (future *trauk-su*), this may be explained from the near resemblance in form of the fourth class to the tenth, in which the retention of the *y* or *i* in the universal tenses is regular. In general the perfect loves a *y*, and often adds one in verbs which do not exhibit one either in the present or in any other tense; as from *dûmi* (for *dûdmi*), or *dûdu*, "I give," comes *daw-yau* (future *dû-su*); from *demi* (for *dedmi*), "I lay," *dĕ-yau* (future *dĕ-su*=*dhâ-syámi*, *θή-σω*)*; from *eimi*, or *einu*, "I go," *ĕyau* (future *ei-su*=Sanscrit *é-shyámi*). In every case the form of the participle may be safely inferred from that of the perfect indicative; but when the *y* of the first person singular indicative disappears in the other persons, it is lost in the participle also; thus, from *daw-yau*, second person *daw-ei*, participle *daw-ens*, feminine *daw-usi*; but from *dĕyau*, second person *dĕyei*, participle *dĕy-ens*, feminine *dĕy-usi*; from *ĕyau*, "*ivi*," second person *ĕyei*, participle *ĕy-ens*, feminine *ĕy-usi*. It is beyond doubt, therefore, that as

* If the Lithuanian perfect belonged to the Sanscrit-Greek imperfect, then the perfect of *dûdu* and *dedu* would most probably be *dûdau*, *dedau* =Sanscrit *ádadâm*, *adadhâm*, Greek ἐδίδων, ἐτίθην.

the participle is based on the Sanscrit in *vâṅs*, feminine *ushî*, so the preterite indicative, which is most intimately connected with it, must also be connected with the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite and its European kindred forms. The Old Prussian simple preterite also, which in signification usually appears as aorist, appears to me to be a sister form of the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite, with the loss of the reduplication: hence, *dai*, "he gave," for *da**=Sanscrit *dadâu*, for *dadâ*. The present *dast*, from *dad-t*, is, on the other hand, like the Lithuanian *dûs-ti*, a reduplicated form (see p. 661). The *ts* which often terminates the third person singular preterite; as in *daits*, "he gave," a form used together with *dai*; *immats*, "he took," with *imma*; *billats*, "he spoke," with *billa*: this *ts* I regard as an appended pronoun, and abbreviated for *tas* (compare Lithuanian *tas*, "that," and the Sanscrit base *ta*, "he," "this," "that"). Let it be observed, that in general bases in *a* for the most part suppress this vowel before the nominative sign *s*; hence, *deiws*, "God"=Lithuanian *diewa-s*, Sanscrit *dêva-s* (see Nesselmann, p. 49). That the *ts* spoken of is not characteristic of the preterite is clear from this, that it also occurs sometimes in the present; for example, in *astits*, "he is,"† and *po-quoitêts*, "he desires." The former occurs twice, and once in the sense of the conjunctive: Nesselmann, p. 23, n. 51, *nostan kai tans sparts astits*, "on which he may have power." Here, therefore, the idea "he" is three times expressed, once by *tans*, then by the ancient personal termination *ti*, of the meaning of which the language is no longer conscious, and lastly by the appended *ts*. This *ts*, however, can scarcely be admitted in reference to feminines: there are no neuter substantives in Old Prussian; and in one place, where *astits* appears to mean "he is," it refers to the masculine *unds*, "water" (Nesselmann, p. 17): *adder sen stesmu wirdan Deiwas astits ainâ Crixtisnâ*, "but with the word of God is a baptism." Here, therefore, the appended pronoun, as the subject of the proposition, is correctly in its place.

791. The middle and passive participles in Sanscrit, in

* *Ai* frequently stands in Old Prussian for *a*; as in the nominative singular feminine, where both *a* and *ai* correspond to the Sanscrit *â*, see Nesselmann, p. 48; and compare *quai*, "which?" with the Sanscrit *kâ*, Lithuanian *ka*, and Latin *quae*; so *stai* (also *stâ*), "this," "the"=Lithuanian *ta*.

† Compare Sanscrit *asti*, Lithuanian *esti*, the *i* of which in Old Prussian is contained only in this compound (simply *ast*)

so far as they attach themselves to any tense of the indicative, have the suffix *mâna* or *âna*. I consider the latter to be an abbreviation of the former, as it is represented in Greek, just like *mâna*, by μενο: nor is it probable that the Sanscrit should have originally appropriated to the participle present of the middle voice two suffixes which resemble one another so closely as *mâna* and *âna*; and which, in use, are so distributed, that the former belongs exclusively to the first principal conjugation—only with the exception, that the tenth class, probably on account of its greater fulness of form, admits also *âna*—while the latter is fixed in the second conjugation; and, moreover, in the perfect, to which, as it appears to me, on account of its incumbrance with the syllable of reduplication, the shorter form is more agreeable, where we must remark, that in the present participle active also the reduplication has an influence on the weakening of the participial suffix (see §. 779. Note). The auxiliary future has everywhere preserved the complete suffix *mâna*; hence, *dâ-syâ-mâ-na-s*, both middle and passive = δω-σό-μενος. With this agrees the Lithuanian *dů-se-ma-s* (feminine *-ma*), "*qui dabitur*," since in Lithuanian the said participial suffix has been abbreviated to *ma*, which nevertheless does not cause us to overlook its connection with the Sanscrit *mâna* and Greek *μενο*. In the participle present *dů̊d-a-ma-s*, "*qui datur*," corresponds to the Greek διδό-μενος, and Sanscrit *dádh-âna-s* (for *dadh-mâ-nas*, and this for *dadâ-mâna-s*): the latter, however, is middle only, and the passive participle is दीयमानस् *dî-yá-mâna-s*.* The Old Prussian, which approaches the Lithuanian very closely, has, in one of the two examples of the said participle which remain to us in the translation of Luther's Catechism, preserved the origi-

* Several roots in *â* (among them *dâ*) weaken this vowel before the passive character *ya* to *î*.

nal form of the suffix with astonishing fidelity, it may be said, in its perfect Sanscrit form, unless, perhaps, the *a* of the first syllable be short. The example I mean is, *po-klausî-mana-s*, "heard," or rather "being heard," ἀκουόμενος:* in form, however, ὑποκλυόμενος would be the corresponding word, as *klaus* or *klus* is the Prussian form of the Greek root κλυ (Sanscrit *śru*, from (*kru*), and *po* corresponds to the Greek ὑπό, Sanscrit *úpa*. Besides *poklausîmanas*, the Prussian Catechism presents one more form, which, with respect to its suffix, evidently belongs, in like manner, to the participle passive present; viz. *eni-m-u-mne*, "agreeable," properly "becoming accepted," as the participle perfect passive also signifies both "accepted" and "acceptable."†

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* The participle present passive suits the passage where the expression occurs better than the perfect participle (Nesselmann, p. 16), *stawîdas madlas ast steismu tâwan en dangon enimmewingi bhe poklausîmanas*, "such prayer is acceptable to and becoming heard (=is heard) by the Lord in heaven."

† Nesselmann (p. 104) takes *enimumne* to be a typographical error, though he gives no reason for this opinion. The termination *mne* does not appear to me doubtful: the internal vowel is omitted, as in the Latin *al-u-mnus*, *Vert-u-mnus* (§. 478.), and as in the Zend forms *bar-a-mnĕm*, *vaz-a-mnĕm*, of which hereafter. So in Old Prussian, from *kermen-s*, "body," comes the accusative *kermnem* (also *kermenen* and *kermenan*). This *kermens* for *kermenas* is, according to its formation, probably, in like manner, a passive participle; so that, properly, its meaning is equivalent to "created," "made" (Sanscrit *karômi*, "I make," compare Latin *creo*, *creatura*). Pott refers the Latin *corpus*, and Zend *kĕrĕf-s* (accusative *kĕhrpĕm*, to the root *klṛip*, *kalp*; which, however, is itself connected with *kar* (*kṛi*), as Pott also assumes (see my *Sanscrit Glossary*, *a.* 1847, p. 84). As regards the final *e* of *enimumne*, it is either an adverbial or a neuter termination. The passage wherein the expression occurs requires properly the nominative singular neuter (Nesselmann, p. 24, n. 56, *sta ast labban bhe dygi enimumne prĕki Deiwan nousesmu poýâlbenikan*, "this is good and acceptable before God our Saviour"), as *labban* also is really a neuter,

792. With respect to accent in Sanscrit, the participles, middle and passive, in *mâna, âna,* follow the same principle as the active participles (see p. 1057), *i.e.* they are governed by the accent of the corresponding tense in the indicative; so that the suffix receives the accent only in cases in which the indicative has it on the personal termination, which happens in the heavy terminations of the present of the second principal conjugation (with the exception of the third class, see p. 1056) and of the perfect of all verbs. The Greek corresponds, in forms like τετυμ-μένος (opposed to τυπτόμενος), to the accentuation of the Sanscrit cognate forms, only that the latter have the accent on the final syllable of the suffix, so that *tutup-ânás* corresponds to the Greek τετυμ-μένος.*

neuter, according to the analogy of Sanscrit neuters in *am* (see §. 152.). If, however, *enimumne* is a neuter, in that case the *e* stands, as frequently happens in Old Prussian, for *a*, and the case-sign is suppressed, as in the pronominal neuters, *sta*, "this," *ka*, "what" (accusative *ka* and *kan*), and in Lithuanian neuters, as *gêra*, "*bonum*" (§. 135.). If, however, there is a typographical error in this word, which is an isolated one of its kind, we might perhaps conjecture *enimumnem*=*mnan*. As regards the vowel *u*, it is probably like the Latin *u* of *al-u-mnus, Vert-u-mnus*—for which we might have expected *al-i-m(i)nus, Vert-i-m(i)nus*—the corruption of an original *a*, and corresponds to the Sanscrit *a* of the first and sixth class (§. 109ª. 1.).

* At the time when the Sanscrit suffix *âna* had not yet lost its *m*, it will probably have had, like the Greek -μένος of τετυμ-μένος, the accent on the first syllable; for that the circumstance of the suffix beginning with a consonant or a vowel may have an influence on the accentuation is clear from this, that the verbs of the third class in the present indicative have the accent only on those heavy terminations which begin with a consonant, while in cases where the heavy termination begins with a vowel, the syllable of repetition is accented (see p. 1068): hence, *bibhṛi-váhé*, "we two carry" (Mid.), but second person *bibhr-âthé*, third person *bíbhr-até*, so also in the participle present middle *bíbr-âṇa*, not *bibhr-âṇá:* it is highly probable, however, that *bibhri-mâṇá* would be said if the *m* of the suffix were retained.

793. In Old Sclavonic the participial suffix in question has experienced the same abbreviation as in Lithuanian: it is in the nominative masculine МЪ *m'*, feminine МА *ma*, neuter МО *mo*, and, as in Lithuanian, has only a passive signification, but occurs only in the present. Compare ВЕЗОМЪ *veζ-o-m'*, "the being conveyed," feminine ВЕЗОМА *veζ-o-ma*, neuter ВЕЗОМО *veζ-o-mo*,* with the Lithuanian *wez-a-ma-s*, feminine *-ma*, the Sanscrit *váh-a-mâna-s*, *-â*, *-a-m*, the Greek *ἐχ-ό-μενο-ς*, *-η*, *-ο-ν*, and the Latin *veh-i-mini* (see §. 478.). In the German languages this participle, as such, has disappeared, but the Gothic *lauh-môni*, "the lightning," properly, "that which lights," from the feminine base *lauh-mônyô*,† is a substantive remnant of the participle present middle, and, therefore, the *y* is an unorganic affix, otherwise *mônô* would correspond admirably to the Sanscrit feminine suffix *mânâ*, as *ô* is the most common representative of the *â*, which is wanting in Gothic (see §. 69.). The nominative form *-môni*, of *mônyô*, is to be explained according to §. 120.‡

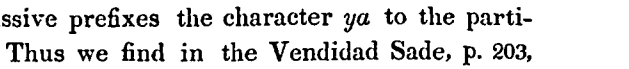
794. The Zend has either shortened or rejected the middle *a* of the Sanscrit suffix *mâna*, and weakened the preceding class vowel *a* usually to ϛ *ĕ*. The form *mana* (*mnα*) becomes, as it were, the step of transition to the Greek *μενο*, and Latin *minu* §. 478), and is identical with

* It needs, perhaps, no remark, that the vowel which precedes the *n* in all the languages here compared belongs to the class syllable, and is therefore not to be referred to the participial suffix (see §. 507.).

† Sanscrit *rôch-a-mânâ*, "the shining," from the root *ruch* (from *ruk*), which is only used in the middle, according to the first class (see §. 109ª.). The Latin *luceo* is based on the causal form *rôchâyâmi* (see p. 110).

‡ It may also be assumed that the Gothic *mônyô*, *moni*, is based on a to-be-presupposed Sanscrit form *mânî*, as bases in *a*, especially in substantives, form their feminines frequently in *î*; as, *dêvî*, "a goddess," from *dêva*, "a god." This *î* must, in Gothic, according to §. 120., take the form of *yô* or *ein*, nominative *i*, *ei*.

the Old Prussian *mana*, of the (§. 791.) above-mentioned *poklaus-î-mana-s*; while the form *mna*, which has lost its internal vowel, finds an accidental countertype in the Latin *mnu*, of *al-u-mnus*, *Vert-u-mnus*, and the Old Prussian *mne*, of *en-im-u-mne* (§. 791.). In Zend, also, this suffix, as in Greek, has, beginning even with the present, both a middle (or purely active) and passive signification, while the Sanscrit in the passive prefixes the character *ya* to the participial suffix. Thus we find in the Vendidad Sade, p. 203, *barĕmanĕm*, "being carried" (=φερόμενον), and *vazĕmnem*, "being conveyed," as adverbial accusatives in reference to the nominative plural *mazdayaśna*.* At times the final vowel, also, of the suffix *mana* is suppressed, together with the middle vowel; so that thus only *mn* is left, to which are affixed the case terminations. Thus, in *nyâśĕmn-ô*, "*celebrantes*," *yêzimnô*, "*venerantes*," which indeed, according to their termination, might also be singular nominatives of bases in *a*, but in the passage where they occur clearly shew themselves to be plurals of bases in *n*.† We might,

* 
yat actĕ yôi mazdayaśna pâdha ayantĕm vâ tachĕntĕm vâ barĕmanĕm vâ vazĕmnĕm vâ tachi aipya naśâum frajaśaiṇ, "If those, who being worshippers of Ormuzd, going on foot, or . . . . . or carried, or riding . . . . . approach a corpse." Anquetil (p. 312) translates: "*Si un Mazdéiesnan allant à pied, ou en bateau, porté (dans une voiture), ou élevé de quelque façon que ce soit (aperçoit) un mort.* In a similar passage (l. c. p. 279) occurs *barĕmnĕm*, and likewise *vazemnem*.

† Vendidad Sade, p. 482: *Narô aṅhĕn ashavanô havôyazasta nyâśĕmnô yêzimnô Ahuramazdaṅm*; "*Viri sint puri, lævam manum habentes (lævâ manu tenentes), celebrantes, venerantes Ahuramazdam.*" Anquetil translates (p. 416): *Qu'il n'y ait que l'homme pure qui coupe le Barsom; et que, le tenant de la main gauche, il fasse izeschné à Ormuzd.* I consider *myâśĕmnô* as an abbreviation of *ni yâś*, and refer, on this hand, to the root *yâś*, p. 963, Note.

therefore, also distribute the forms *barĕmnĕm* and *vazĕmnĕm* into *barĕmn-ĕm* and *vazĕmn-ĕm*, as bases which end in a consonant have, in the accusative, *ĕm* as their termination. That, however, in general in Zend the suffix spoken of has not lost its plural *a*, is shewn by forms like *vazĕmna* (Vend. S. p. 521), which, as nominative plural, can belong only to a base in *a* (§. 231. Note); thus, *csayamana* (l. c. p 543.) = Sanscrit *kshâyamâṇâs*, from *kshi*, "to rule," *csayamnâo* plural feminine (l. c. p. 550); *frây(a)zĕmnanaṅm*, genitive plural = Sanscrit *prayajamânânâm*, from यज् *yaj*, "to honour," "to sacrifice." An example of a form in *âna* (for *mâna*) in the second principal conjugation is *uś-âna* (l. c. p. 543), as nominative plural for the Sanscrit *uśânâs*, from *vaś*, "to wish," with an irregular contraction of the syllable *va* to *u*. The following are examples of participles of the future passive: 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀

—and with regard to the accentuation of the last syllable of the suffix, they agree with the Sanscrit *ânâ, anâ* (for *mânâ, mânấ*), of the second conjugation (see §. 792.).* But few masculines in *man* remain to us in Sanscrit, and these, too, are, for the most part, but rarely used. The following are examples: *śúsh-man*, "fire," as "that which dries;" *úsh-man*, "the hot time of year," as "the burning;" *vémán*, "weaver's loom," as "weaving or apparatus of weaving;" *sí́man*, "border," as "binding," from सि *si*, "to bind," with the *i* lengthened; *pấp-man*, "sin," as "that which is sinned" (*peccatum*), from a lost root. Some masculines in *man* have a vowel of conjunction *i*; as, *har-i-mán*, "time," as "carrying away," "destroying;" *sar-i-mán*, "the wind," as "moving itself," "blowing;" "*dhar-i-mán*," "form," as "borne," "sustained" (thus the Latin *forma*, from the root *fer*); *star-i-mán*, "bed," as "spread out" (compare *stramen*). Thus, also, the two abstracts *ján-i-man*, "birth," and *már-i-man*, "death," which are likewise masculine, but are distinguished from the other forms in *man* by accenting their first syllable; *ján-i-man, már-i-man* — like *śúshman*, &c. — opposed to *harimán, sarimán, starimán, dharimán, bharimán.*†

* Compare φλεγμονή with Sanscrit middle participles like *yuñjâná*, "the binding," from *yuñjmâná*.

† See Böhtlingk, "*The Unâdi Affixes*," p. 58. Wilson renders *bhárimán* by "nourishing," "cherishing;" Böhtlingk by "maintenance." I think, however, I may venture to deduce from the accentuation that it is not an abstract substantive; for otherwise, like *máriman*, "death," and *jániman*, "birth," it would have the accent on the radical syllable (see p. 1091). The expression कुटुम्ब *kuṭumba*, by which, in the Unâdi Book of *Káumudí*, *bharimán* is explained, according to Wilson also, signifies, not "nourishing," "cherishing" (though to the root *kuṭumb*, an instance of which has not yet been met with in books, the meaning "supported" (*dhṛityám*) is ascribed), but, amongst other things, "family;" and I conjecture that *bharimán* signifies "family," in the sense of "that which is maintained

796. In Sanscrit the masculine bases in *man* are much more numerous than the neuter: they all have the accent on the last syllable, and express partly a passive, partly an active relation, or are abstracts. The following are examples: *dhámman*, "a house," as "that which is made or built," from *dhâ*, "to place" (*vi-dhâ* "to make"); *vártman*, "way," as "that which is gone upon," from *vart*, *vṛit*, "to go;" *vêśman*, "a house," as "that which is entered," from *viś*, "to enter;" *sádman*, "a house," from *sad*, "to go," and "to sit;" *kárman*, "deed," "*factum*;" *várman*, "harness," as "that which covers;" *rôman*, "hair" (abbreviated from *rôhman*), as "growing;" *dâman*, "band," as "binding;"* *sthâman*, "strength," as "having continuance," from *stâ*, "to stand;" *jánman*, "birth," from *jan*, "to bear;" *préman*, "love," from *prî*, "to love." The Zend furnishes the neuter bases 𐬛𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬙 *dâman*, "people," as "created" (=Sanscrit धामन् *dhâman*, "house;") 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬙 *maêŝman*, "*urina*" (*quod mingitur*, Sanscrit *mih*, "*mingere*;") and 𐬰𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬙 *chashman*, "an eye," as "telling," "announcing." The last is radically connected with the Sanscrit *chakshus*, from *chaksh*, "to say."

797. Adjective bases in *man* are rare in Sanscrit: one example is, शर्मन् *śárman*, masculine, feminine, neuter, "happy" (as neuter substantive, "happiness,") the con-

maintained or supported," as the wife, *bhâryâ*, implies "she who is to be supported," and the husband *bhartâr*, *bhartṛi*, "he who supports." Wilson and Böhtlingk also regard शरिमन् *śarimán* as an abstract substantive, and the latter renders it (l. c. p. 149) "to bring forth," "to bear." The explanatory Sanscrit expression (*prasava*) is, however, ambiguous: I have, in my Glossary, assigned to it the meanings *partus*, *partura*, and *proles*, *progenies*, *suboles*; and here, where *śarimán* is explained by it, I would adhere to the last signification, on account of the oxytone accentuation of the just-mentioned expression.

* Without any root corresponding in idea. Compare the Greek δέω, δέσματ, from δεσμαν, of which hereafter.

nection of which with its apparent root (शर् *śar*, शॄ *śṝi*, "to break,") is, as regards meaning, by no means clear. In Greek, adjective bases in *μον* correspond, both as to accent and as to the non-distinction of the feminine base from that of the masculine neuter; as, *μνῆμον*, *τλῆμον*, *λῆσμον*, *ἴδμον*, *φράδμον*, *ἐπιστῆμον*. To the paroxytone masculine substantive bases mentioned in §. 795., like *śúshman*, "fire," as "drying," correspond in Greek such as *πνεῦμον* ("lung," as "breathing"), *γνῶμον*, *δαῖμον* ("god," "goddess," properly "shining,"* *στῆμον*. With the there-mentioned tri-syllable oxytone masculine bases like *harimán*, "time," as "taking away," compare *κηδεμόν*, *ἡγεμόν*. Here, too, belong—as *ε*, like *o*, is a corruption of *a*—some bases in *μέν*; viz. *ποιμέν* ("herdsman," as "causing to feed," compare *pasco* and the Sanscrit root *pâ*, "to support," "to nourish"), *ἀϋτμέν*,† *λιμέν*, *πυθμέν* (the two latter from roots now obscured). The suffix *μών*, *μῶν-ος*, of *κευθμών*, *θημών*, *χειμών*, *λειμών* (from *λειβ-μών*), has preserved, through all the cases, the long vowel, which, in the corresponding Sanscrit suffix, is retained only in the strong cases: so, too, the corresponding Latin *mŏn* of the bases *sermŏn*, *termŏn* (=*terminus*, see §. 478.) *tĕmŏn*, and *pulmŏn*.‡—

* It belongs to the Sanscrit root *div*, "to shine;" whence *déva*, "a god;" *div*, "heaven; *divasa*, "day," &c. (See Benfey, *Gr. R. L.* II. p. 207.)

† With respect to the T-sound in *ἀϋτμήν* and *σταθμών*, and which is often added to the root before the suffix *μο*, remark a similar circumstance in Sanscrit, where, before the suffixes *van*, *vara*, and the gerundial suffix *ya*, a euphonic *t* is always added to roots which end with a short vowel; as from *ji* comes *jitvan* and *jitvara*, "conquering;" *jitya* (with prepositions preceding), "after the conquest."

‡ Compare Pott, *Etym. Inq.* II. 594. and I. 270., where *té-mo*, as well as *tig-num*, is compared with the Sanscrit *taksh*, "*frangere, findere, fabricari*;" whence, also, *takshan*, "a carpenter;" and our *Deichsel*, "a chip-axe" (Old High German *dihsila*, and Anglo-Saxon *dhixl*), and the Old High German *dehsa* and *dehsala*, feminine, "axe" (Graff, V. 125.), as "cleaving."

It is also highly probable that to the Sanscrit formations in *man* belongs the Latin *ho-min*, for *ho-mŏn* (in the old language *he-mo*, *he-mônis*). I take the *h*, as has been already remarked elsewhere ("*Berlin Annual Reg. of Lit. Crit.*" Nov. 1830. p. 791; compare Pott, "*Etymological Inquiries*," I. p. 217; and Benfey, "*Gr. R. L.*" II. p. 105), to be the representative of the *f* of *fui*, &c., and therefore *hŏ* as =*fŏ*, in *fŏ-re*, *fŏ-rem*. Let reference be made to the Prâkrit *hômi* and *havâmi*, "I am," for the Sanscrit *bhavâmi*, and the dative termination *hi*, of *mihi*, compared with the Sanscrit *hyam*, from *bhyam* (see §. 215. and §. 23. at the end). Man, therefore, according to the Latin expression, is simply "the being," as in Sanscrit *jana*, "the born" (root *ian*, "to produce," "to bear"). There is also in Sanscrit an appellation of man, from भू *bhû*, "to be," viz. *bhuvana* (see Wilson); and two appellations of the earth, viz. *bhû* (the simple root) and *bhûmi* (compare Latin *humus*). I am, however, not aware that *bhavat*, "being," also signifies "man," as Benfey l. c. asserts. The resemblance of the Gothic base *gu-man*, "man," Old High German *go-mon*, *ko-mon* (nominative *guma*, *gomo*, *komo*), on which is based our *gam*, of *Bräutigam*, "bridegroom" (Old High German *brût-gomon*, properly *Braut-Mann*) to the Latin *ho-min*, *he-mŏn*, is surprising: the relationship, however, I am now of opinion, is confined to the suffix, and the German expression in reference to its root belongs to the above-mentioned Sanscrit *jana* (compare Graff, IV. p. 198), with the retention of the old medial (see §. 92.), and with the loss of the *n*, as in the radically, and, by suffix, related *kî-mon*, "germ" (see §. 799. Note), and in the Latin *gê-minus* (see §. 478. at the end). Properly, therefore, *gu-man*, *go-mon*,

"cleaving." With the active signification among Latin formations in *mŏn* only remains *pulmŏn*, "lung," as "breathing," by transposition from *plumŏn* (Ionic πλεύμων).

signify "the born." The circumstance that we have already the Sanscrit root *jan* contained in Gothic in the forms *kin* (*keina, kain, kinum,* whence our *Kind,* "child"), *kun* (*kuni,* "sex") and *qvin* (*qveins,* "lawful wife," as "she who bears," compare γυνή), need not prevent us from admitting a form which has preserved the original medial. I would recall to mind the fact that both the Gothic *qvam,* "to come" (*qvima, qvam*), and *gagga,* "I go," are derived from the Sanscrit root *gam,* "to go" (see §. 755.). But to return to the Latin suffix *mŏn*—from it arise the forms *mônia, môniu,* by the addition of *ia* or *iu*; as, *tôria,* from *tôr* (*victôria,* from *victor*), with this difference, that the primitives in *mŏn* of derivatives like *quer-i-mônia, al-i-mônia, al-i-mônium, cer-i-mônia* (root *cer.*=Sanscrit *kar, kṛi,* "to make") have disappeared. From adjective and substantive bases also spring, by this double suffix, abstracts like *acri-mônia, ægri-mônia, casti-mônia, miseri-mônium, tristi-mônium, testi-mônium, matri-mônium.* I consider the *i* of forms like *casti-mônia, ægri-mônia,* to be a weakening of the final vowel of the base-noun (see "*Vocalismus,*" pp. 132, 162, and 223), and the *i* of *matri-mônium* to be an extension of the base, which, in the generality of cases, is added to all bases ending in a consonant. I therefore now regard the *ê* in the nominative plural as a contraction of *ai,* and as=the Sanscrit *ay* (from *ai*), of *ay-as: ovê-s,* for example, therefore, has the same relation to the Sanscrit *avay-as* that *mon-ê-s* has to *mân-aya-si,* Prâkrit *mâṇ-ê-si* (see p. 119); and thus *pedê-s, amantê-s,* come from the extended bases *pedi, amanti.* Remark that bases in *u* also, in the nominative plural, have simple *s* for their termination, and that here the lengthening of the *u* represents the Sanscrit and Gothic Guna; *e. g., fructû-s,* as in Sanscrit *sûnav-as,* and in Gothic *sunyu-s,* "son," from *sûnu, sunu* (see §. 230.). Compare, also, what has been said before (§. 780.) regarding the Old Prussian present participle.

798. In Greek there are some bases in *μῑν* which preserve the long vowel in all cases, and resemble the Sanscrit strong cases with *mân*, to which, with respect to their *ī*, they bear the same relation that, in Sanscrit, the plural *krî-ṇî-más*, "we buy," has to the singular *krî-ṇá-mi* (see §. 485.). Compare the accusative singular *ῥηγμῖν-α*, and the nominative plural *ῥηγμῖν-ες*, with analogous Sanscrit forms like *śúshmân-am*, *śúshmân-as*; while in the genitive singular, which belongs to the weak cases, the Sanscrit *śúshman-as* (with short *a*) stands in disadvantageous contrast with the Greek *ῥηγμῖν-ος*. The suffix *μῑνο*, feminine *μῑνη*, is connected with the Sanscrit participial suffix *mâna*, and, with reference to the retention of the long vowel, stands nearer the latter, than the usual *μενο*. Here belong *κάμῑνο-ς*, "oven," as "burning," "glowing," from *καίω*, *κᾱω*, with the radical vowel shortened; *ὑσμῑνη*, "strife," for which no root occurs in Greek, but which Pott (II. p. 594) rightly traces to the Sanscrit *yudh*, "to strive" (whence *yudhma-s*, "strife," which would lead us to expect, in Greek, *ὑσμος*); *κυκλάμῑνος*, *κυκλάμῑνον*, properly "rounded."

799. To the Sanscrit masculine substantive bases in मन् *man*, mentioned in §. 795., correspond the just-mentioned masculine bases *ahman*, "spirit," as "thinking" (*ahya*, "I think"); *hliuman*, "ear," as "hearing" (Sanscrit root *śru*, from *kru*, "to hear,' Greek *κλυ*); *blôman*, "a flower," as "blowing" (Old High German *bluot*, "*floret*;" *bluont*, "*florent*"); *milhman*, "a cloud" (probably like the Sanscrit *mêgha*, originally "*mingens*," see §. 140.); *skeiman*, "a lamp," as "shining," "lighting" (Sanscrit *kan*, "to light")*; and

* I have no scruple in deducing *skeiman* from the root *skin*, "to shine," "to light" (*skeina*, *shain*, *skinum*), with the suppression of the final consonant of the root, as *nm* is a combination unsuited to the German; hence, also, in Old High German, *hî-mon*, *chî-mon* (nominative *-mo*), "germ," from

with passive signification, *mal-man*, "sand," as "triturated," also neuter (nominative masculine *malma*, neuter *malmô*, see §§. 140. 141.); and *hiuh-man*, "heap," as "heaped up," from the root, lost as regards the verb, *huh* (euphonic *hauh*, see §. 82.), to which also belongs *hauhs*, "high" (Grimm, II. p. 50). The Old High German places over against the Gothic-Sanscrit *man* the form *mon* (nominative *mo*), and in this form corresponds to the Greek μον. The following are examples: *wahs-a-mon*, and *wahsmon*, "vegetables," "fruit," as "growing," or "having grown;"* *glîz-e-mon*, "lustre;" *ka-smag-mon*, "taste;" with passive signification; *sâ-mon*, "seed," as "sown" (Latin *se-men*).† As in Sanscrit the suffix *man* also forms abstract substantive or adjective bases, as *prath-i-mán*, "breadth," from *prithú*, "broad" (from *prathu*, compare Greek πλατύ); *krishṇ-i-mán*, "blackness," from *krishṇá*, "black;"‡ we may also here mention the Old High German *rôta-mon* (also *rôto-mon*, *rôte-mon*),

from the roots *kin*, *chin* (*chin-i-t*, "*pullulat*," *ar-kin-i-t*, *-chini-t*, "*gignit*," "*germinat*," see Graff, IV. 450.)=Sanscrit जन् *jan*, "to produce," "to bear" (Latin *gen*, Greek γεν), whence *ján-man* neuter, and *ján-i-man* masculine, "birth," which agrees with *kîmon* in root and suffix. *Ger-men*, for *gen-men*, corresponds in Latin. With respect to the rejection of the final consonant of the root before the *m* of the suffix, compare the (§. 796.) above-mentioned Sanscrit *rô-man*, "hair of the body," as "growing," for *róh-man*; and Latin forms like *fulmen*, for *fulg-men*; *lû-men*, for *luc-men*; as well as *gê-minus* (see §. 478. conclusion), which is probably, in root and suffix, connected with *kî-mon*. To *lû-men* corresponds, in root and suffix, the Anglo-Saxon *lëo-man* (nominative *lëoma*), "light," for *lëoh-man*, compare Gothic *lauh-môni*, "lightning" (§. 793.).

† The kindred Sanscrit root *vaḳsh*, "to grow," would, in the middle, form *vákshamâṇa* as participle present.

* This has been already explained in the above sense in my Review of Grimm's German Grammar ("*Berlin Ann. Rëg. of Lit. Criticism*," Feb. 1827, p. 757; "*Vocalismus*," p. 131).

‡ The final vowel of the base word is rejected before the vowel of conjunction *i*.

"redness," from the adjective base *rôta*, as a very remarkable analogous form. The Latin uses for this object the suffix *mônium*, or feminine *mônia* (see §. 797. conclusion), extended from *môn*.

800. In Lithuanian the suffix spoken of appears in the form *men*, nominative *mů*; and thus, from a Lithuanian point of view, the obscure *piemen*, nominative *piemů*, "shepherd's boy," corresponds to the Greek ποιμέν, ποιμήν (see §. 797.); and *akmen*, —*mů*, "stone," to the Sanscrit, also obscure, *áśman*, —*mâ*. From a Lithuanian point of view, the bases *aug-men*, *źel-men*, "sprout," "shoot," as "growing," (*augu* and *źelu*, "I grow"); *yos-men*, "apron-string," "girdle" (*yós-mi*, "I have a girdle on;" *ap-si-yós-mi*, "I gird myself"); *sto-men*, "stature" (*stowyu*, "I stand," compare Sanscrit *sthâman*, "strength, from *sthâ*, "to stand"), are quite intelligible. *Semenys*, "linseed," properly only "seed" (*sĕyu*, "I sow," future *sĕ-su*), is a nominative plural, as *akmeny-s*, "stones," from the extended base *akmeni*,* and leads us to expect a singular *semů*; and therefore corresponds to the Old High German base *sâ-mon* (§. 799.), and to the Latin *se-men*. The Old Sclavonic presents a few masculine bases in MEN, which, in the nominative, contrast МЪІ *my* with the Lithuanian *mů* and Sanscrit *mâ* (see §. 260. at the end, and p. 348), but prefer, however, the form *meny*, from the prolonged base *meni* (Dobrowsky, pp. 287 and 289, under ENЪ *eny*). From a Sclavonic point of view, however, only *plamen* (nominative *plamy*, or *plameny*, "flame," as "burning,"

* The suffix *men* forms the entire plural, with the exception of the genitive (*akmen-â*, "*lapidum*"=Sanscrit *áśman-ám*), from the extended *meni*. In some cases of the singular the suffix is extended by the addition of *iu*; thus, in the genitive, *ákmenio* (like *wilko*, §. 169.), together with the organic *ákmen-s*; instrumental *ákmeniu* (like *wilku*), together with *akmeni-mi*; accusative *ákmeni-ń*; locative *ákmeniye*, according to the analogy of *awiye*, from the base *awi*, "a sheep."

is etymologically intelligible (ПЛАНѢТИСА *planuiti-sai*, "*comburi*;" ПАЛИТИ *pal-i-ti*, "*urere*," &c.; see Miklos. p. 62); КАМЕН *kamen*, "stone" (nominative *kamy*, or *kameny*) answers to the Lithuanian *akmen*, *akmů*, and Sanscrit *áś-man*, *áśmâ*.

801. To the Sanscrit neuter bases in *man* (nominative *ma*, see §. 139.), mentioned at §. 796., correspond the Latin in *min* (*men* in the cases having no termination beyond the base), the Greek in ματ, for μαν (see §. 497), and the Gothic and Sclavonic in *man*, MEN *men*. The Latin and Greek formations which come under this class have, like their Sanscrit sister forms, either a passive signification, which, indeed, is generally the case; as *praefamen*, *stramen*, *sêmen*, *agmen*, *segmen*, *germen*,* πραγματ, ποιημα, ῥημα, ἀκουσματ, γραμματ, γλυμματ, δομα, βρωματ; or an active signification, as *flâmen*, *lûmen*, (from *lucmen*), *fulmen* (from *fulgmen*), *tegmen*, *teg-i-men*,† *teg-u-men*, *reg-i-men* ("helm," as "guid-

* *Germen*, from *genmen*, is founded on the frequent interchange of liquids (§. 20.).

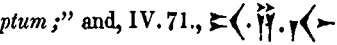
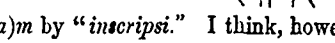
† The *i* of *teg-i-men*, *reg-i-men*, is identical with the class-vowel of the third conjugation, and leads us, therefore, to the Sanscrit *u* of the first and sixth class, which in Latin has been weakened to *i* or *u* (*veh-i-mus*, *veh-u nt*, see §. 507.): this is clear from the long *i* of the fourth conjugation (*mol-î-men*, *fulc-î-men*, as *mol-î-mini*, *fulc-î-mini*), and the *â* of the first (*certâmen*, *lavâmen*, &c.). Forms like *agmen*, *fragmen*, *tegmen*, on the contrary, belong to that period of Sanscrit which combines the suffix *man*, without reference to the conjugation of the verb, almost invariably direct with the root. In the Latin second conjugation we should expect *ê* before the said suffix, and the *mentu* derived from it: for it, however, we find, where the suffix is not combined direct with the root, according to the analogy of the third conjugation, *i* or *u*; hence, *sed-i-men*, *doc-u-men*, *doc-u-mentum*, *mon-i-mentum*, *mon-u-mentum*. In general, the Latin *ê* of the second conjugation does not keep its place so firmly as the two other representatives of the Sanscrit tenth class (see p. 110); hence, also, *doc-ui*, *doc-tum*, opposed to *am-â-vi*, *am â-tum*, *aud-î vi*, *aud-î-tum*.

ing"), δεσματ, ῥυματ, πνευματ, ἀηματ, βροντηματ, εἱματ, ἐσθηματ; or are abstracts, as *solamen, certamen, levamen, tentamen, regimen, molîmen*, βλημα-τ, βοημα-τ, βρύχημα-τ, δειμα-τ, χαρμα-τ. At the end of compounds, the original *ν* of the suffix *ματ*, which is corrupted from *μαν*, either remains in its original form, or is entirely suppressed: in both cases, however, the *α* is corrupted to *ο* (nominative masculine and feminine *μων*); probably because the heavy sounds *τ* and *α* are found, through the incumbrance of composition, less appropriate than the lighter *ν* and *ο*; hence, πολυπραγμον, ἀπραγμον, ἀναιμον, and ἀναιμο, ἀκυμον and ἀκυμο, ἀνωνυμο, συνωνυμο. The form νωνυμνο is interesting, because here we find intact the old *n* of the Sanscrit *nâman*, Latin *nômen*, &c., which, in ὀ-νομα-τ, has become *τ*, but elsewhere, in the compounds of this word, is suppressed: along with its retention, however, we find the base prolonged by *ο*, and the vowel of the suffix suppressed (νωνυμνο, from νωνυμανο, or νωνυμονο); in the latter respect compare the weakest cases of the Sanscrit *nâman*, the genitive *nâmn-as*, dat. *nâmn-é*, and the Gothic plural *namn̆-a*.* Ἀπαλαμνο points to a lost substantive παλαμα-τ, from παλαμᾶν (of which, also, παλαμνᾶιος is a proof), which apparently has been disused for παλάμη. I would also rather regard κρηδεμνο, "head-band,"

* In §. 235. *namôna* is given incorrectly, though this form would be the regular one (compare *hairtôna*), and would correspond well to the Sanscrit *namân-i* (from *namân-a*, see §. 234.). The form *namna*, on the other hand, answers to the Sanscrit weakest cases, while the nominative, accusative, and vocative plural of Sanscrit neuters always belong to the strong (see smaller "*Sanscrit Grammar*," §. 177. Note). It appears, however, that in Gothic it is necessary, for the protection of the full form *ôna*, that it be preceded by a vowel long in itself or by position, or by more than one syllable; hence *augôna, ausôna, barnilôna, ubilôna*, but not *namôna*, and probably, also, not *vatôna*, from *vatan*, "water," as the dative is *vatnam*, not *vata(n)-m*; compare Grimm, I. p. 609, Gabel. and Löbe, p. 67.

with respect to its concluding element, as a form analogous to *-ωνυμνο* (and, therefore, as a derivative from *δεματ*, from *δεμαν*), than as a participle for *δεμενο*: on the other hand, I look upon *διδυμνο*, which Passow takes to be analogous to *νώνυμνο-ς* and *ἀπάλαμνο-ς*, as a participle (properly, therefore, "doubled") from a reduplicated verbal base *διδυ*, which has sprung from *δύο*, and from which a present indicative *δίδυμι* might have been expected; thus, *δίδυμνο-ς*, like *διδόμενο-ς*, only with the suppression of the middle vowel of the suffix, as in the Latin *al-u-mnu*, and in the above-mentioned (§. 791.) *en-im-u-mne*. Compare, also, the participial substantive bases in *μνο*, feminine *μνα*, as, *βελεμνο*, *μεδιμνο*, *μεριμνα*, which have been already discussed by Pott (*E. I.* II. p. 594.) under this view, and which have no corresponding verb, any more than the above-mentioned *διδυμνο*, though *βελεμνο*, just like *βελος*, is visibly connected with *βάλλω*.

802. The Old Sclavonic neuter bases in МЕН *men* have in the cases, which in Sanscrit and Gothic drop the final *n*, retained the original *a* with a resonant nasal; hence, ИМА *imaṅ*, "names" (see §. 783. Rem. 1. conclusion), from the base *imen* = Sanscrit *nâ-mán*. Here belong, also, the bases СѢМЕН *sye-men*, "seed," as "sown" (*sye-ya-ti*, "to sow") = Latin *semen*, Old High German *sâmon* masculine (see §. 793. Note 3), ПИСМЕН *pis-men*, "letter of the alphabet," as "written" (*pis-a-ti*, "to write");* ЗНАМЕН *ζna-*

* I cannot refrain from drawing attention here to the strong agreement between the Sclavonic root *pis* and the Old Persian *pish*, with the preposition *ni*: *ni-pish*, "to write down," "to describe," properly, "to hew in." Rawlinson (Beh. IV. 47. 48.) translates  *nipishtam* by "*scriptum*;" and, IV. 71.,  *niyapisha(ya)m* by "*inscripsi*." I think, however, that we must, with the *p*, read also the *a* contained in it; thus, *niyapaishayam*: for whether this form be taken as a causal—thus, "I have caused to describe"—or as a verb of the tenth class, in both cases Guna is indispensable. The

men, "a sign," as "making to know" (*ζna-ti* "to know"), and a few words from obscure roots (Dobrowsky, p. 288). The Gothic furnishes besides *na-man*, "names" (nominative accusative *namô*, see §. 141.), which, in the other German languages, has become masculine, only *aldô-man*, "age," if this word really be, as Gabel. and Löbe suppose, a neuter, which cannot be discerned from the but once occurring dative *aldômin* (Luke i. 36). As the neuter abstract of an adjective it would correspond to the above-mentioned (§. 799. conclusion) Sanscrit neuter bases like *krishṇ'-i-mán*, "blackness," from *krishṇá*, "black;" while the there-mentioned *rôta-mon*, "redness," like *namon*, "names" (nominative *namo*), has perhaps first become neuter as it was gradually corrupted. The *ô* of the Gothic *aldô-man* I take to be the lengthening of the *a* of the base *alda* (see §. 69.), "old," which, indeed, does not occur, but may be inferred from the cognate dialects (see Graff, I. 192). If, however, *aldô-man* is derived, not from an adjective, but from a verb, we must suppose a lost denominative *aldô-m*, "I grow old" (see §. 765.); and *aldô-mon* would then correspond to Latin formations like *certâ-men* (§. 801.). We can hardly imagine any similarity of formation between the above and the Old High German compounds *alt-duom*, *alt-tuom* (see Grimm, II. 151.).

803. From the suffix *men*, *min*, an extended form *mentu* has proceeded in Latin (*argu-mentu-m*, *mon-u-mentu-m*, *incre-mentu-m*, *co-gno-mentu-m*, *sed-i-mentu-m* &c.), in which I do not agree with Pott (*E. I.* II. 594.) in recognising the affix of a participial suffix *tu* (*tus*, *ta*, *tum*), but one that is simply phonetic; just as, in Gothic, the base *hun-da* (nominative *hunds*) stands over against the Sanscrit *śun* of the weakest

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The causal form of the Sanscrit *pish*, Class 7, "to beat down," "to bruise," whence the meaning "to engrave," "to hew in," is easily deducible appears to me the most probable.

cases, and Greek κυν (κύων, κυνός), or as, in Latin, the Sanscrit roots *tan*, "to extend," and *han* (from *dhan*), "to smite," "to slay" (Greek θαν), has become extended to *tend*, *fend* (*f*=*dh*, θ, see §. 293.), and, in Sanscrit itself, *kan* and *chand* (from *kand*), "to shine," are originally one. A mute is readily attracted to the side of a nasal, and the former as easily annexes a vowel; and thus, for the Latin extended suffix *menlu*, without reference to gender, we find a parallel in the Old High German *munda* (from *manda*), nominative *mund*, but only in the solitary base *hliu-munda*, nominative *hliu-mund* (abbreviated *liu-mund*, our *Leumund*, "renown"), "fame," as "that which is heard," as in Gothic *hliu-man*, "ear," as "hearing" (compare Grimm, II. p. 243). The Greek base ἑλμινθ, "worm," as "winding itself," has added to the suffix μῑν, mentioned above (§. 798.), only a θ, but in this respect stands as isolated as, in Old High German, the just mentioned *hliu-munda*. The form ἑλμιγγ (ἕλμιγγες) exhibits, instead of the *T*-sound, a guttural, and thus reminds us of the relation of our *yung*, "young" (Gothic *Yugg-s*, theme *yugga* = *yunga*), to the Sanscrit *yuvan*, in the weakest cases *yûn* (genitive *yûn-as*), and Latin *juvenis*, *junior*. Thus the Old High German suffix *unga* (our *ung*) of abstract substantives, as in *ar-find-unga*, "invention," *warn-unga*, "warning," may be identical with the Sanscrit feminine form of the suffix *ana* (*anâ*); so that the first *a* has become weakened to *u*, as in the polysyllabic forms of the preterite, as *bunti*, "thou didst bind," compared with the monosyllabic *bant*, "I bound," "be bound." In the same way our root *sang*, "to sing," (Old High German *singu*, "sang," second person *sungi*), may be compared with the Sanscrit root *svan*, "to sound" (compare Graff, VI. p. 247).

804. I think I discover the origin of the medio-passive participial suffix *mâna*, and of the cognate nominal suffix *man*, in the combination of two demonstrative bases *ma*

and *na* (see §§. 368. 369.); the vowel, therefore, being lengthened in *mâna*, and in the strong cases of *man*, and the final vowel in the last-mentioned form being suppressed. We must here observe that *na* readily combines with other pronominal bases, and then always takes the last place; hence अन *ana*, एन *ena*, in Greek κεῖνος, and in Old Prussian *ta-ns*, for *ta-na-s*, "he,"* opposed to the Lithuanian simple *ta-s*, "the." If the medial relation be really expressed formally in the suffix *mâna*, μενο, in that case the final element must express the nominative relation, or that relation which, from time to time, belongs to the position of the participle; and the unchangeable *mâ*, με, the dative or accusative (*sibi*, *se*); so that, therefore, न *na*, νο, denote the person acting, and मा *mâ*, με, the person acted upon, which, however, in the middle, are one and the same. The suffixes of participles, as in general those of adjectives and substantives, represent the personal terminations of verbs, *i.e.* those of the third person; and I thus consider the *t* of the participle present and future active as identical with the termination of the third person, and, like the latter, a derivative from the pronominal base *ta*, the vowel of which, in the participial suffix, is dropped. The *n* of the active participial suffix probably serves only for the phonetic intensification and more emphatic designation of the agent; while, in the third person plural, plurality is symbolically denoted by the same nasalization (see §. 536.): hence the coincidence of *bhárant*, φέροντ, *ferent* Gothic *bairand*, "bearing," with *bháranti*, φέροντι, *ferunt*, *bairand*, "they bear."

805. We recognise the simple pronominal base *ma* in the Sanscrit suffix म *ma*, which in adjectives or substantives denotes the person or thing which completes the action

* Feminine *tanna*, with the favourite repetition of the liquid.

expressed by the root, or on whom that action is accomplished. Abstracts, also, are formed by this suffix, which, however, is seldom adopted in that state of the language which has descended to us; while the corresponding suffixes of the Lithuanian and Greek (*ma*, *μο*) are of very frequent use. The following are examples in Sanscrit: *rukmá-m*, "gold," as "glittering" (*ruch*, from *ruk*, "to shine"); *yugmá-m*, "pair," as "bound together;" *tigmá*, adjective (*-má-s*, *mâ*, *má-m*), "sharp" ("sharpened"), "hot" (root *tij*, from *tig*, "to sharpen"), substantive neuter (*tigmá-m*) "heat;" *bhîmá*, "fearful" ("feared," root *bhî*, "to fear"); *dhûmá-s*, "smoke," as "being moved" (root *dhû*, "to move"); *yudh-má-s*, "combatant," "contest," "arrow" (*yudh*, "to fight"); *gharmá-s*, "heat," apparently as "moistening," by sweat (root *ghar*, *ghṛi*, "to sprinkle"); *ishmá-s*, "tone" (root *ish*, "to wish"); *idhmá-s*, "wood," as "being burned" (root *idh*, "to burn"). To the latter corresponds the Zend 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬹𐬌 *aêšma* (nominative *mô*). Remark the agreement of the above-mentioned Sanscrit words in the accentuation of the suffix with Greek formations like *στολμό-ς*, *παλμό-ς*, *κορμό-ς*, *ὀδυρμό-ς*, *κομμό-ς*, *τριμμό-ς*, *φλογμό-ς*, *ἀγμό-ς*, *ῥυμό-ς*, *χυμό-ς*, *κλαυ-θ-μό-ς*, *μυκη-θ-μό-ς*. In Sanscrit, also, there are a few words formed with *ma*, which, like *πότμο-ς*, *οἶμο-ς*,* *ἄνεμο-ς*, *ὅλμο-ς*, and some others of obscure origin in Greek (Buttmann, II. p. 315), have the accent on the radical syllable. Here belong, for example, *bhấma-s*, "the sun," as "giving light," *śúshma-m*, "fever," as "drying." To the masculine nominatives in *ma-s* correspond numerous Lithuanian abstracts in *i-ma-s*, or, with *m* doubled, *i-mma-s*,†

* *oi* is the Guna form of the root *i*, "to go" (compare §. 609). Thus, in Sanscrit, *vártman*, "way," from *vart*, *vṛit*, "to go."

† With regard to the doubling of the *m*, compare the doubling of liquids so common in Old Prussian. I believe I have discovered it to be a fixed law in Lithuanian, that the doubling of the *m* in the said suffix is only

the *i* of which, as in Sanscrit forms like *ján-i-man*, "birth" (see §. 795.), is only a vowel of conjunction. The following are examples: *gimm-i-mma-s*, "birth;" *ey-i-mma-s*, "going" (*ei-mi*, "I go;" *ĕy-au*, "I went"); *pa-gadinn-i-ma-s*, "ruin" (*pa-gadinu*, "I mar"). In this manner, in Lithuanian, abstract substantives are formed from adjective bases also, in which formation a final *a* of the adjective base is weakened to *u*, while bases in *u* have their vowel unchanged. The following are examples: *gûdu-mma-s*, "avarice," from *gûdù-s*, "avaricious;" *gra-źu-mma-s*, "beauty," from *graźù-s*, "beautiful;" *darku-mna-s*, "ugliness," from *darkù-s*, "ugly;" *drasu-mna-s*, "boldness," from *drasù-s*, "bold" (compare Greek θρασύς, θαρσύς, Sanscrit *dharsh*, *dhṛish*, "to dare"); *rietu-mna-s*, "hardness," from *rieta-s*, "hard;" *auksztu-mma-s* "height" from *auksztа-s* "high;" *ilgu-mma-s* "length," from *ilgi-s* (for *ilgia-s*, see §. 135.), "long."*

806. The Latin has but a few words in *mu-s*, and those of obscure origin and etymology, to offer in comparison with the Indo-Lithuanian in *ma-s* and Greek in μο-ς; as, *an-i-mus*, which, like the Greek ἄν-ε-μο-ς, has originated from the Sanscrit root *an*, "to breathe," "to blow" (see 109[b]. 2.); *fu-mus* = θυμός, Sanscrit *dhû-más*, "smoke" (root *dhû*, θυ, see §. 293.); perhaps *pô-mu-m*, "apple," as "nourishing," or "being tasted" (Sanscrit *pâ*, "to support," and "to drink," compare *pa-bulum*, *pa-sco*, *pâ-vi*, *pô-tus*, *pô-*

only then permitted or required when, exclusive of prefixes in combination with the verb, the verbal base is monosyllabic. If, however, it be polysyllabic, the *m* is not doubled; hence, indeed, *gimm-i-mma-s*, "birth," and also *uz-gimm-i-mma-s*, idem.; *su-gruw-i-mma-s*, "circumstance" (*gruwu*, "I occur"); but not *graudén-i-mma-s*, "warning," but *graudén-i-mas* (*graudenu*, "I admonish").

* Bases in *ia*, nominative *is*, drop their *i* before the *u* of their abstracts which has arisen from *a*; hence *middu-mmas*, "greatness, from *middis*, "great."

tûra); and the adjectives *for-mus* (compare *ferveo, fer-mentum*), *fir-mus* (compare *for-tis, fero*), *al-mus*. In the German languages, also, the formations of this class are, for the most part, no longer conscious of their origin: they occur in Grimm, II. p. 145, where, however, the bases in *ma* and those in *mi*, which have both lost their final vowel in the nominative singular, are not distinguished. I regard the suffix *mi*, which exists also in Sanscrit and in Greek,* as merely a weakened form of *ma*, as in the Greek pronominal base μι (accusative μίν) = Sanscrit *ma* (see §. 368.). The Gothic *bag-ms*, "tree" (theme *bag-ma*), probably means originally "the growing" (Sanscrit *barh, bṛih*, "to grow"): the adjective base *ar-ma*, nominative *arms*, is perhaps an abbreviation of *ard-ma*, and a shoot from the Sanscrit root *ard*, "to vex," with which I would compare, also, the Sanscrit *ár-ma* (nominative masculine *árma-s*, neuter *árma-m*) "a malady of the eyes:" *bar-mi* (nominative *barms*), "lap," springs evidently from the root *bar* (*baira, bar*) "to carry." In Old High German *dau-m, dou-m* (theme *-ma*, or *-mi*?) "vapour," corresponds to the Sanscrit *dhû-má-s*, "smoke;" *ƕrau-m*, theme *trau-ma* (Old Saxon *drô-m, drô-ma*), leads us to the Sanscrit root *drâ* "to sleep;" *sau-m* (theme *sau-ma*), "seam," to सिव् *siv*, "to sew" (Old High German *siwu*, "*suo*"); *hel-m*, "helm," as "covering," springs from the root *hal*, "to conceal" (*hilu, hal, huhumêa*).

807. The feminine form of the suffix, viz. *mâ*, does not occur in Sanscrit in substantives; but the Greek in μη, as γνώμη, μνήμη, στιγμή, γραμμή, correspond to it; as do the Latin, like *flamma*, from *flagma, fâma, spûma, strûma, glûma*

* *E.g.* दल्मस् *dal-mí-s*, masculine, Indra's "thunderbolt," from *dal*, "to cleave;" भूमिस् *bhû-mí s*, "earth," feminine, from *bhû*, "to be," "to become;" δύνα-μι-ς, φῆ-μι-ς, θέ-μι-ς (Ion. genitive Θέμι-ος).

for *glubma*; and the Lithuanian in *ma*, *mẽ*;* as *wažmà*, "riding;" *tûžmà*, "grief" (*tužio-s*, "I grieve"); *služmà*, "service" (*služiu*, "I serve");† *giesmẽ*, "song" (*giedmi*, "I sing"); *báimẽ*, "fear" (*biyau*, "I fear" Sanscrit root *bhî*, "to fear," *bhîmá-s*, "fearful," and nominative preterite, whence the patronymic *bhâima-s*, feminine *bhâimî*); *drausmẽ*,‡ "prohibition." To this class probably belong, also, the Lithuanian and Sclavonic abstracts in *ba*, *bẽ*, ВА *ba*; so that the medial stands in place of the organic nasal, as in *dewini*, ДЕВЯТЬ *devaṅty*, "nine" (see §. 783.); and as in Greek βροτός, βραδύς = Sanscrit *mṛitá-s*, *mṛidú-s*. Thus, in Lithuanian we find the forms *tûžbà*, "grief," *slûžbà*, "service," side by side with *tužmà*, *služmà*, which have the same meaning. *Garbẽ*, "honour," "fame" (*girriu*, "I praise"), corresponds in its root to the Sanscrit *gar*, *gṛi* (in the Vêda-dialect, "to praise"). Abstracts in *bẽ* from adjective bases, whose final vowel has been weakened to *y* (= *i*), are numerous; as, *silpny-bé*, "weakness,"

* *Mẽ* from *mia* (see p. 174, Note *).

† Thus *drutu-mà*, "strength," together with *drutu-ma-s*, from the adjective base *drûta*, "strong."

‡ For *draud-mẽ* (*draudziu*, "I forbid"), according to the analogy of the infinitive *draus-ti*, in which the change of the *d* before *t* into *s* is regular (see §. 457.). In *ei-s-mẽ*, "going" (*ei-mi*, "I go"), the *s* is euphonic, as in Greek forms like δε-σ-μή, δε-σ-μός. A euphonic *s* of this kind sometimes precedes the masculine suffix also, but, I imagine, only after gutturals, and then the insertion of the vowel of conjunction *i*, mentioned at §. 805., does not take place; hence, *džaug-s-mas*, "joy" (*džaugio-s*, "I rejoice"); *werk-s-mas*, "weeping;" *rêk-s-mas*, "clamour." Hence it appears that, in Lithuanian, *ksm* or *gsm* is a more favourite combination than *gm*, *km*. Compare, in this respect, the insertions of consonants mentioned in §§. 95. 96., from which, however, is to be excepted the *s* of the Old High German *tarst*, "thou venturest," *torsta*, "I ventured," as here the *s* belongs rather to the root (Sanscrit *dharsh*, *dhṛish*, "to dare"), see *Sanscrit Glossary*, a. 1847, p. 186.

from *silbna-s*, "weak;" *byaury-bĕ*, "ugliness," from *byaurù-s*, "ugly." The following are examples of Russian abstracts in *ba*: мольба *molyba*, "begging" (молю *molyù*, "I beg"); служба *sluschba*, "service" (служу *sluschu*, "I serve"); стража *straschba*, "watching" (стерегу *steregu*, "I watch"); алчба *alćba*, "hunger" (алчу *alću*, "I am hungry"). Perhaps, as we have seen in Gothic *m* take the place of *b* in the dative plural (see §. 215.), so we may assume the converse mutation of *m* to *b*; and, in fact, in the formations in *u-bni* (theme *u-bnya* neuter, *u-bnyô* feminine, see Grimm, II. p. 184), occasionally *u-fni*. If we retrace the *b*, which is evidently the more genuine form, to *m*, then *vit-u-mni* (*vit-u-bni*, "knowledge," would resemble Latin formations like *al-u-mnus* (see §. 478. conclusion); and in my opinion the Gothic like the Latin *u* is only a class vowel, and therefore a weakened form of *a*, or, in Grimm's weak form of the second conjugation, of *ô*; and therefore *vund-u-fni*, feminine, "wound," is for *vund-ô-fni*, from *vund-ô*, "I wound." It deserves notice, that, together with *fraist-u-bni*, feminine, "attempt," there occurs also the form *fraist-ô-bni* (genitive plural *fraist-ô-bnyô*, Luke iv. 13.), evidently from a weak verb *fraistô* (compare the Old Northern *freista*, "*tentare*," see Graff, III. 830.), which cannot be cited; for the strong verb *fraisa* gives no authority to the *t*, and would make us expect only *frais-u-bni*. In *fast-u-bni*, "fasting," the *u* represents the *a* sound of the diphthong *ai* of the third weak conjugation, where we must observe that the *i* element of this diphthong is dropped also before personal terminations beginning with nasals; thus, as *fast-a-m*, "we fast," *fast-a-nd*, "they fast," for *fast-ai-m*, *fast-ai-nd*, so *fast-u-bni*, from *fast-u-mni* for *fast-ai-mni*.

808. In order to exhaust the presumptive cognates of the Sanscrit participial suffix *mâna*, the Latin suffix *mulu* must also be here mentioned, the *l* of which, perhaps, like that of *alius* = Sanscrit *anya-s*, "the other," rests on the

favourite interchange of the liquids (see §. 20.). We divide, therefore, *fa-mulus*, properly "the making" (for *fac-mulus*); or if, as Ag. Benary conjectures, it belongs to the Sanscrit root *bhaj* "to honour," "to serve" (compare Gothic *and-bahts*, "servant," "he who serves;" *sti-mulus* (for *stig-mulus*), "sting," as "sticking" (compare, according to Vossius, στίζω, στίγμα, &c.). Compare the Irish suffix *mhuil*, in *fasa-mhuil*, "growing" (*fasaim*, "I grow") = *váksh-a-mâṇa-s*.* If, however, the *a* of *fasa-mhuil* is not a class vowel, as in *fas-a-mar*, "we grow" = Sanscrit *váksh-â-mas*, but to be included in the suffix (to be divided, therefore, *fas-amhuil*), in that case the last portion of the word properly means "like," and is most probably an abbreviation of the adjective *samhuil*,† which occurs uncompounded. Words like *fear-amhuil*, "manlike," can scarcely be explained otherwise than as compounds of *fear* and *amhuil*. The Latin suffix *mulu* might, however, be also connected with the Sanscrit *mara*; whence, *admara* and *jasmara*, "voracious," from *ad*, *jas*, "to eat," *śrimara* (Wilson), according to some authorities, "a young deer," from *sar*, *śri*, "to go." This suffix, however, as *v* and *m* are easily interchanged, is originally one with the more usual *vara*; whence *naśvara*, "transitory," from *naś*, "to be ruined;" *bhâsvara*, "shining," from *bhâs*, "to shine;" *sthâvara*, "standing," "immoveable," from *sthâ*, "to stand."

809. Before we pass on to the consideration of those participles which do not, like those already discussed, belong to any tense of the indicative, and make no distinction between active, passive, and middle, we must mention one other participle peculiar to Latin, viz. the participle future passive in *ndu*. I have already, in my *Conjuga-*

* It being taken for granted that *vaksh* is used in the middle. *F* for Sanscrit *v* is, in the Irish dialect of the Celtic, very usual.

† Compare the Sanscrit *sama*, "like," Latin *similis*.

tional System (§. 109ª. 1.), considered this, with regard to its form, as a modification of the participle present active, and think I must continue to support this view, though it may be objected that, in this manner, the passive and future signification of the said participle will have no foundation as respects form. But words seldom express in form those relations, to denote which they are destined by the use of language; and grammatical forms often change their original meaning, as, in Persian, the forms in *târ* or *dâr* (*faref-târ*, "deceptor," *dâ-dâr* "dator," *), which are based on the Sanscrit nouns of agency in *târ*, Greek in τηρ, and Latin in *tor*, *tôr-is*, are used, contrary to their original intention, with a passive meaning; also, *gi-rif-târ*, "*captus, captivus, præda*;" *res-târ*, "*liberatus*;" *kush-târ*, "*occisus*;" *guf-târ*, "*sermo*" (see Vuller's *Inst. L. Pers.* p. 166); while conversely the participles in *tah* or *dah*, which are based on the Sanscrit passive participles in *ta*, have generally an active signification, and retain their original passive meaning almost only when in combination with the auxiliary verb *shudan* ("to be"); hence *burdah*, "*qui tulit*" = Sanscrit *bṛitá-s* (from *bharṭa-s*), "*latus*;" but *burdah míshavam*, "*feror*," properly "*latus fio*." The Latin *ferendus* approaches very closely the Persian present participle *barindah*, "bearing;" and, like the latter, has weakened the original tenuis (of *ferent*) to a medial, and extended the base by the addition of a vowel, both which changes take place also in Prâkrit and Páli (see p. 301)†. This opinion that

* The choice of *d* or *t* in the suffix depends on the preceding letter. Compare §. 91. conclusion.

† The Sanscrit also has a few words which, in their origin, are evidently present participles, but have added to the *nt* also an *a*, or have preserved the *a* of the base *ta* (see §. 804.). They accent the suffix; hence, *bhâsantá-s*, "sun," as "lighting," opposed to *bhásant* (see §. 785.); *rôhantá-s*, "a certain tree," as "growing," opposed to *rôhant*; *gadayantá s*,

the future passive participles have proceeded from the active present participles is confirmed by the circumstance, that the class peculiarities, which do not extend over the present and imperfect, and the forms which spring from the present, are preserved in the form in *ndu*; *e. g.* the *n* of *sterno* (see §. 496.), the *t* of *pecto*, *plecto*, the reduplication of *gigno* (*gen-ui*, *gen-i-tum*); the gerunds also, which are in form identical with the future passive participle, point to an original active and present signification of the participial form; *docendi*, "of teaching," *docendo*, "by teaching," speak for the signification "teaching," which "*docendus*" must originally have had; for such abstract substantives, especially those which, like the Latin gerunds, express only the exercise of an action, spring naturally from active present participles; as *abundantia* from *abundant*, *providentia* from *provident*, and not from passive participles. Participles in *târu*, when they form abstracts, or rather raise their feminine form to an abstract, abandon their future meaning, and then pass as present participles or nouns of agency; thus, *ruptura*, "tearing," as the personification of "to tear," properly "the person who tears;" *junctura*, "joining;" *mistura*, "mingling;" *genitura*, "producing;" "having." It must be noticed that in Gothic, also, from adjectives spring feminine forms which are used as abstracts, as *mikilei*, "greatness" (theme *mikilein*), from the adjective base *mikila*, to which it bears the same relation that, in Sanscrit, *sundarî*, "*pulchra*" does to the masculine neuter base सुन्दर *sundara* (see §. 120.); so, among others, also *managei*, "a multitude," from *manag(a)s*, "many;" *siukei*,

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yánta-s, "cloud," as "making to flow," opposed to *gadayânt*, from *gad*, "to flow," in the causal. So in Latin *unguentum*, if it be not an extended form of "*unguen*" (compare §. 203.), and perhaps *argentum*, "silver," as "shining" (Sanscrit *raja-tá-m*), apparently from *râj*, "to shine," with the vowel shortened.

"sickness," from *siuk(a)-s* "sick," (see Grimm, I. p. 608). In Greek, too, there are a few adjectives, the feminines of which represent abstracts; in such a manner, however, as that the latter is distinguished from the feminine adjective by throwing back the accent, in agreement with what has been before remarked on similar phænomena in Sanscrit; hence, *θέρμη*, "heat," *κάκη*, "wickedness," opposed to *θερμή*, *κακή*; as above, *yáśas*, "fame," opposed to *yaśás*, "famous" (see §. 785. Remark); *jániman*, "birth," *máriman*, "death," opposed to words like *sarimán*, "wind," as "blowing" (§. 547.). But to return to the Latin participles in *ndu*, *secundus*, "the following one," has correctly retained the original design of the suffix; and the conjecture, therefore, that it is a contraction of *sequebundus* is unnecessary: yet, in my opinion, words in *bundus* in so far belong to this class, as most probably the verb substantive is contained in them in the same way as we have recognised it in the imperfects and futures in *bam*, *bo* (see §§. 526. 663.). When, however, Voss derives the forms *bundu* from the imperfect, as, *errabundus* from *errabam*, *vagabundus* from *vagabar*, *gemebundus* from *gemebam*, he appears to be in error, as this derivation is not supported by the sense; as *gemebundus* signifies, not "*qui-gemebat*," but "*gemens*." I allow, therefore, between *gemebam* and *gemebundus* only a sisterly relation, and take *bundu-s* rather as the participle present of the root *fu*,* with the extension of the suffix *nt* to *ndu*, as in the future passive participle under discussion. In Persian the participle present of the root *bû*, "to be," would probably be *bavandah* (for *bu-andah*, compare *bavam*, "I may be"); and in Sanscrit from *bhû* really comes *bhávant*, "being" (base of the strong cases), to which the Latin *bundu*, exclusive of the suffix *u*, has nearly the same rela-

* Regarding *b* for *f*, see §§. 18. 526.

tion as *bam* (*ama-bam*) has to *á-bhavam*. The first *u* of *bundu* I take to be not the radical vowel of *fu*, but the corruption of an original *a*, as in the third person plural (*veh-u-nt* = Sanscrit *váh-a-nti*). As a proof that the forms in *bundu-s* are, in their origin, participles, may be adduced also the circumstance that they occasionally govern the accusative; thus, in Livy, *vitabundus castrâ, mirabundus vanam speciem.* But should these forms originally belong to a tense other than the present, we might recognise in them obsolete future participles, and assume that the use of the participle in *turus* has caused them to be less freely employed, given room for their being dispensed with, and changed their signification. An especial corroboration of this view is to be found in the fact that the majority of forms in *bundus* belong to the first conjugation, and that in old Latinity futures in *bo* occur also in the third and fourth conjugation, a form which may originally have belonged to all classes of verbs; as, as has been shewn, forms like *legam* and *audiam* are nothing but present tenses of the subjunctive mood, and used as a compensation for the lost futures (see §. 692.). We should consequently regard *lascivibundus* and *sitibundus* as analogous forms of old futures like *scíbo, dormíbo,* only with the vowel shortened, as before the suffix *bundu-s*, with the exception of the *á* of the first conjugation, only short vowels are found, and, therefore, we have *gemĕbundus, fremĕbundus,* opposed to *dicébo,* and *pudibundus* opposed to *pudébit.*

810. Let us now betake ourselves to the consideration of those participles which, without any formal designation of any temporal or lineal relation, have retained their destination in this respect merely by the use of language. These are in Sanscrit the future participle in *tár, tri,* the perfect passive participle in *ta* or *na,* and the future passive participle in *ya, tavya,* and *aníya.* The first-mentioned participle, which is, at the same time, a noun of agency, has

been already discussed in §§. 646, 647; somewhat, however, remains still to be observed on the subject. And first must be noticed the coincidence in accent which exists between the Sanscrit and Greek, since the formations in तार् *târ*, like the Greek in τηρ, regularly accent the suffix; thus, *dâtấr*, nominative *dâtấ* (see §. 144.) *dator* and *datûrus*, as in Greek δοτήρ; *janitấr*, nominative *janitấ* "*genitor*," and "*geniturus*" = γενετήρ. On the other hand, the suffix τορ, which in origin and signification is identical with τηρ, and the long vowel of whose nominative τωρ, is to be regarded only as a compensation for the want of the case-sign, has lost simultaneously its organic length and its accent: it admits, too, of scarce any doubt, that, in Sanscrit, the weight of the suffix *târ* is the cause of its being accented, according to the same principle by which, in the second principal conjugation, the heavy personal terminations assume the accent (see §. 785. Remark). The Greek formations in τη-ς, which in §. 145. have likewise been compared with the Sanscrit in *târ*, have, in part, remained true to the old accentuation, since in forms of more than two syllables a vowel long in itself by position, with σ generally, and occasionally also with κ, ρ, ν, and λ preceding the suffix, serves like a dam to the accent which belongs to the suffix, and prevents it from receding farther back; hence, indeed, δότης opposed to δοτήρ, *dâtấ*; but μαχητής, ποιητής, ζηλωτής, δικαστής, ἀκοντιστής, βαστακτής, φορμικτής, λυμαντής, εὐθυντής, ποικιλτής, καθαρτής, opposed to forms like γαμέτης, γενέτης, πανδακέτης. The ε of forms like γεν-έ-της, γεν-ε-τήρ, πανδακ-έ-της, is most probably a corruption of ι; for it corresponds to the *i*, which often occurs in Latin, and still oftener in Sanscrit, between the root and the suffix; *e. g.* γεν-ε-τήρ and γεν-έ-της correspond to the Sanscrit *jan-i-tấr* and Latin *gen-i-tor*.

811. In the weak cases the Sanscrit suffix *târ* suppresses its vowel, and the accent then falls on the case terminations

beginning with a vowel; while before consonants the *r* becomes *ri*, and the accent abides on the suffix; hence *dâtr-é*, "to the giver," as in Greek πατρ-ός, πατρ-ί, for πατέρ-ος, πατέρ-ι, but *dâtrí-bhyas*, "to the givers." The analogy of the weak cases is followed also by the feminine of the noun agent, inasmuch as before the feminine suffix *í*, which usually receives the accent, the vowel of the principal suffix is suppressed; hence *dâtrí*, "the female giver." The Greek and Latin, which possess over the Sanscrit the superiority of retaining the vowel of the masculine suffix (τηρ, τορ, *tôr*) through all the cases, follow notwithstanding the analogy of the Sanscrit in suppressing, in the feminine forms τριδ, τρια, *trî-c* (see §. 119.), the vowel of the principal suffix, and the Greek τριδ agrees with the Sanscrit *trí* also in the retention of the accent, which the form τρια (perhaps on account of its increase of syllables) has abandoned; thus, λητριδ, ἀλετρίδ, αὐλητρίδ, σημαντρίδ, λαλητρίδ, ὀρχηστρίδ, στεγαστρίδ, as in Sanscrit *dâtrí*. The base γάστρι deserves especial notice, which, though also masculine, is properly nothing but the feminine of γαστερ, nominative γαστήρ*, in which I think I recognise the Sanscrit root *jas*, "to eat," whence might be expected a noun of agency *jastâr*, feminine *jastrí*; thus γαστήρ, properly "the male eater," and γάστρι-ς (properly "the female eater") has indeed experienced a transposition of the accent, but has kept clear from the inorganic affix of a δ. The feminine bases in τιδ seem to me, where they appear as nouns of agency, to be abbreviations of τριδ: they correspond, as respects the loss of the ρ, to their masculines in τη(ρ)-ς, but have throughout displaced the accent, even where the masculine has retained it in its original site;

* In shortening the vowel of the suffix, as also in declension, γαστέρ follows the analogy of the words denoting affinity, see §. 813.

thus, not only ἱκέτι-ς compared with ἱκέτη-ς, but also εὑρέτι-ς opposed to εὑρετή-ς.

812. The words denoting affinity in तृ *tár, trì*, are evidently, in their origin, nouns of agency (see "*Vocalismus*," p. 182); for *pitár*, weakened from *patár*, and this again from *pâtár*, means properly "nourisher," or "ruler," from the root *pâ*; and *mâtár*, "mother," I regard as "she that brings forth;" while I dissent from the Indian Grammarians who derive it from *mân*, "to honour," and prefer deducing it from the root *mâ*, "to measure," which, with the preposition *nis*, "out of" (*nir-mâ*), signifies "to make," "to produce," and even without a preposition is capable of this interpretation.* *Duhitár*, "daughter," signifies properly "suckling," from *duh*, "to milk;" *náptár*, "grandchild," is in its final element essentially identical with *pitár*, "father" (this, however, is perhaps opposed to my former opinion, see p. 387, Note †), here not in the sense of "father," but to be taken in its primitive meaning, while we regard the compound not as a possessive but as a determinative; so that *naptár*, in opposition to *pitár*, as "ruler," or "family chief," would signify the "not ruler," or "subject," and thus it might mean any member of a family but the father; as also in the Vêda dialect, *napât*, which has preserved the original

* I now find a strong confirmation of this opinion, which is elsewhere expressed ("*Vocalismus*," p. 182) in the Vêda dialect in the First Book of the Rig. Vêda (Hymn 61. 7.), which has been edited in the interim by Fr. Rosen, where the genitive *mâtur* occurs as masculine, with the meaning "*creatoris.*" The Old Persian furnishes the noun of agency *framâtár* (*fra* preposition), which is connected in root and suffix with *mâtar*, the accusative of which, *framâtâram*, occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions with which we are acquainted, and is rendered by Lassen, "*imperatorem.*" I have no doubt that the above-mentioned Vêdian *mâtur* has an accusative *mâtâram* (not *mâtáram*), and that, therefore, the theme is properly *mâtár*, not *mâtăr*, as the *á* is shortened only in words denoting affinity.

length of the root *pâ*, signifies in the passages cited by Fr. Rosen (on the Rig. V. I. 22. 6.) "son," though in form it corresponds to the Latin base *nepôt*, as also its feminine *naptî*, "daughter," to the Latin base *nepti**, Old High German *nifti* (nominative accusative *nift*). *Bhrâ-tar*, "brother," has clearly lost a consonant before the suffix, for there is no root *bhrâ*. If, as the Indian Grammarians assume, the root is *bhrâj*, "to shine," we must then observe that the *râj*, which is probably related to it, and from which Pott deduces *bhrâj* (for *abhi-râj*), signifies besides "to shine," also "to rule," and, therefore, "the brother" may be so designated as "ruler" in the family, which, according to Indian manners, the eldest brother after his father's death really is (see "*Vocalismus*," p. 182). But *bhrâ*, in *bhratâr*, may also have sprung from the root *bhar*, *bhṛi*, "to carry," "to support," by the transposition and lengthening of the radical vowel, just as in Greek from βαλ: βλή-σω, βέβλη-κα, βλῆ-μα, &c., from πετ = Sanscrit *pat*, "to fall," "to fly" (πίπτω from πιπετω): πτω and πτη (πτῶσις, πτῶμα, πτῆσις), and in Sanscrit from *man*, "to think," *mnâ*, "to mention,"

* This feminine form leads to the conjecture that the masculine *napât* in the weakest cases (see §. 130.) rejects its *â*; that, therefore, the genitive would be *napt-as*, for *napât-as*, since feminine bases in *î* generally follow the analogy of the weakest cases; as, *râjñ-î*, "a queen," follows that of *râjñé*, to the king," *râjñ-as*, "of the king," &c. Before terminations beginning with a consonant, where *napt* would be impossible, I should expect *napăt*; thus, *napad-bhyas*, "to" and "from the sons." If such forms were confirmed, I still could not assent to Benfey's (Glossary to the Sâma Vêda, p. 106) conjecture, that *â* in *napât*, as also the *ô* of forms like *datór-is*, &c., is a lengthening that originally belongs only to the strong cases, which, in Latin (*nepôt*), has entered into all cases. It is more natural to suppose the theme of the Sanscrit strong cases to be the original one, and therefore, also, in the classical languages, for the most part, carried through all the cases, as is the case in the example before us with the suffix *tôr*, τηρ, contrasted with the Sanscrit strong *târ* (shortened in the vocative to *tar*) and with the participle present in *nt*.

which is regarded by the Indian Grammarians as a distinct root. If, as now appears to me more probable, this is the derivation of *bhrâ-târ*, viz. from *bhar*, in that case the "brother" is properly "the supporter," as the stay of the mother, sisters, and younger brothers after the father's death.* So the husband, also, in relation to the wife, who is termed *bhâryâ* ("the female to be supported, to be cherished"), is "the supporter," and as such is called *bhartấr*, nominative *bhartấ*; a word, the creation of which still lies within the clear recollection of the language, and which, therefore, in departure from its supposed cognate *bhrâtar*, follows the ordinary declension. The appellation of "sister," in Sanscrit *svásâr*, has still preserved the long vowel in the strong cases, but has, on that account, like the Latin *sorôr* from *sostôr*, lost a *t*, which has remained in the German and Sclavonic languages (Gothic *svistar*, English "sister," Old Sclavonic *sestra*), and in the Lithuanian *sesser* (nominative *sessů*, genitive *sesser-s*, see §. 144.), has assimilated itself to the preceding *s*. *Svá-s(t)âr* is properly "the wife belonging" (regarding the pronoun *sva*, see §. 341.), and is, in its final element, akin to *strî*, "woman," which Pott is undoubtedly right in deducing from the root *su*, *sû*, "to bear a child" (E. I. I. p. 126); so that, like *fe-mina* (see §. 478. conclusion), it originally signifies "the parturient," and is a regular feminine noun of agency up to the loss of the radical vowel.

813. The shortening of *â* to *a*, which most words denoting affinity have experienced in Sanscrit and Zend in the strong cases, appears to have existed so early as the time of the unity of language, as it is scarcely fortuitous that *pitáram*, *pitar-âu* (Vêda *-râ*), *pitáras*, stand in the same

* So in a passage of *Sâvitrî* (p. 16 of my translation of "*The Deluge*"): "When the husband (of the mother) is dead, that son is culpable who is not the protector of his mother."

relation to *dâtáram, dâtárau (-râ), dâtáras*, as, in Greek, *πατέρα, πατέρε, πατέρες*, to *δοτῆρα, δοτῆρε, δοτῆρες*, particularly as the Latin makes a distinction between the declension of words like *pater, patris*, and such as *dator, datôr-is*.

814. In the Vêda dialect, formations in *târ, tri*, occur also in the sense of the participle present or future governing the accusative; and in this case the accent invariably is thrown back from the suffix to the radical syllable; hence *dâtâr*, "giving," opposed to *dâtár*, "giver;" *pâtâr*, "drinking," opposed to *pâtár*, "drinker" (Latin *pôtôr-*); *hántâr*, "smiting," "slaying," opposed to *hantár*, "smiter," "slayer;" *ástâr*, "casting," opposed to *astár*, "caster." These participles serve principally to represent the present indicative; so that, as in the participial future of the classic Sanscrit, the verb substantive is either to be supplied or is formally expressed. The former is the case if the participle refers to the third person; the latter if the first or second person is the subject. The forms of this kind which occur in the Sâma Vêda are all in the masculine singular nominative: and it is matter for future investigation, whether the feminine also occurs in constructions of this kind, or whether, as in the participial future of the classic Sanscrit, the nominative masculine represents the other genders.* I annex a few examples from Benfey's edition of the hymns of the Sâma Vêda: *Hántâ yó vritráṁ sánitôtá (-tâ utá) vájan dâtâ maghánî*, "who (Indra) striking (cleaving) *is* the cloud, and distributing *is*

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* That in Zend, also, the form in *târ* occurs in the sense of a participle present, and governing the accusative, is proved by a passage in the beginning of the 1st Farg. of the Vendidâd (V. S. p. 498), where 𐬞𐬀𐬐𐬙𐬀𐬌 *bactĕm* is governed by 𐬛𐬀𐬑𐬙𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬐𐬀 *dâthrô*, "to the giving" (genitive in the sense of dative, as is frequently the case in Sanscrit): *nĕmaŝ etĕ dâthrô bactĕm*, "worship to thee the giver of happiness (riches)."

food, giving is riches" = "who strikes," &c. (I. 4. 1. 5. 4.); *yá âdṛityâ śaśamânâya sunvaté dâtâ jaritrâ* (euphonic for . . . . *tré*) *ukthyám*, "who is giving that which is commendable to the praise singer, who slays with care, and expresses the juice of the (Sôma)" (II. 1. 1. 14. 2.); *tváshṭâ nô dâívyaṅ váchaḥi parjányô brâhmaṇaspátiḥ*, "Parjanyas Brahm *is* creating for us godlike speech"* (I. 4. 1. 1. 7.); *ástâ 'si śátravê vadhâm*, "thou art hurling death at the foe" (II. 9. 1. 13. 3.). I take *pâtâ* as a future participle in the following passage: *pâtâ vṛitrahâ sutâm â ghâ gamat*, "*poturus Vritri occisor sômæ succum adeat*" (II. 8. 2. 1. 3.).† As regards the cause of the retrogression of the accent in these expressions, I have no doubt that the aim which the language has in view is most emphatically to express, by the accentuation, the energy of the action, which, in the case where the form in *târ* as a participle governs the accusative, appears in its full force; and I am of this opinion, as, as has already been remarked (see §. 785. Remark, at the beginning), the accenting the initial syllable of a word in Sanscrit is the most emphatic.

* *Tváshtâr* is paroxyton also as a noun of agency.

† According to Benfey's translation, "let the Vritra-slayer drink the juice," &c., *pâtâ* would=*pâtâ syât*, "*bibens sit.*" I doubt, however, that these participles can, without an auxiliary verb, represent the potential or imperative; for the indicative only of the verb substantive is, in Sanscrit, very frequently omitted, as being by the sense itself understood. The enclitic *ghâ* (for *gha*), which stands in the text in the common dialect *ha*, which, as well as *hâ*, occurs in the Vêdas, and attaches itself to pronouns especially (see F. Windischmann's Sankara, p. 73; and Benfey's Glossary to the Sâma Vêda, p. 206), gives me occasion to remark, that I now, in departure from my former explanation (§. 175.), regard the Gothic *k*, and our *ch* in *mi-k*, *thu-k*, *si-k*, *mi-ch*, *di-ch*, *si-ch*, as well as the Old High German *h* in *unsi-h*, *ἡμᾶς*, *iwi-h*, *ὑμᾶς*, as a particle which has grown up with the base, and as identical with the Sanscrit *ha*, *gha*, and Greek *γε* (Dor. Æol. *γα*), and therefore *dich* as=Sanscrit *tvâṅ-ha*, Greek *σέγε*, as, in a phonetic point of view, *ich*, Gothic *ik*=*aham*, *ἐγώ*.

815. As to the origin of the suffix *târ*, it may be regarded as springing from the verbal root *tar* (तॄ *tṛi*).* This root properly signifies "to overstep," "to transgress," but also "to accomplish," "to fulfil;" *e.g. pratijñâm*, "a promise." And it must be observed that several verbs of motion express also "to transact," "to do;" as, *char* signifies (1) "to go," (2) "to pass through," (3) "to do," "to practise," "to arrange." Thus, *dâtâr*, "*dator, dans, daturus*," may be taken as "the accomplisher," the "exerciser of giving," or, also, if we keep to the primitive signification of the root, as, "the man who passes through the action of giving;" as, *pâraga*, properly "going to the farther shore," is used in the sense of "perusing." The verbal roots, therefore, in combination with the suffix *târ*, are to be taken as abstract substantives, which cannot surprise us, as some of them appear as such without any annexation of a formative suffix; as, *bhî*, "fear," from *bhî*, "to fear;" *hrî*, "shame," from *hrî*, "to fear;" *yudh*, "strife," from *yudh*, "to strive." It may be requisite here to observe, that in Latin several formative suffixes beginning with *c* can be traced back to the Sanscrit root *kar, kṛi* (with which *creo* is connected). Thus, for example, *cri* for *ceri*—nominative masculine *cer*, feminine *cri-s*—and *cru* in *volucer*, "flying," properly "fulfilling the action of flying;" *ludicer, ludicru-s*, "sport," "pleasure," "causing enjoyment;" *involu-cre*, "that which envelopes or serves thereto;" *lava-cru-m*, "that which makes to bathe," "to bathe;" *ambula-cru-m*, "that which makes to walk out, gives occasion thereto," hence "promenade;" *sepul-cru-m*, "that which makes to inter," "a grave;" *lu-cru-m*, "that which causes to pay," "gain;" *ful-cru-m*, for *fulc-cru-m*, "that which makes to support," "a support." As *r* and *l* are easily

* Compare Benfey, "*Greek Etymology*," II. p. 257.

interchanged, I have no hesitation in referring to this class also the suffix *culu*, and comparing it with the Sanscrit *kara*, "making;"* thus, *ridicu-lu-s*, properly "making to laugh;" *pia-culu-m*, "that which makes to atone;" *specta-culu-m*, "that which makes to see," "gives to see;" *vehi-culu-m*, "that which makes to ride;" *pô-culu-m*, "that which makes to drink;" *mira-culu-m*, "that which makes to wonder;" *ba-culu-s*, "that which makes to go" (*βίβημι*, *ἔβη-ν*).

816. From *târ* springs, in Sanscrit, by the affix of an *a*, and with the suppression of its own vowel, as in the weak cases, and before the feminine character *î*, the neuter suffix *tra*, and thence the feminine *trâ*. The neuter form is principally used, and, like the feminine *trâ*, of rare occurrence, forms substantives which express instruments, which are, as it were, the inanimate accomplishers of an action. They Gunise the radical vowel, and, for the most part, in accordance with the Greek analogous forms in *τρο*, *θρο*, *τρα*, *θρα*,† accent the first syllable of the word. The following are examples: *nê-tra-m*, "an eye," as "conducting," or "instrument of conducting" (root *nî*); *śrô-tra-m*, "ear" (root *śru*, "to hear"); *gâ-tra-m*, "limb" (root *gâ*, "to go"); *vás-tra-m*, "garment" (root *vas*, "to put on"); *śâs-tra-m*, "arrow" (root *śas*, "to slay"); *yôk-tra-m*, "band" (root *yuj*, "to bind"); *dânshṭrâ*, "tooth" (root *daṅś*, "to

* At the end of compounds *bhâs-kara-s*, "making brilliance," "the sun;" *bha-yan-kara-s*, "making fear," "formidable."

† It is a question whether the *θ* of *θρο*, *θρα*, is produced by the influence of the *ρ*, in analogy with the law of sounds in force in Zend (see §. 47.), or whether independently of the *ρ* a change or weakening of the tenuis to the aspirate has taken place, as has become the rule in Germanic languages (see §. 87.). The latter appears to me more probable, as the combination *τρ* is very usual; but *θ* for an original *τ* occurs also before vowels, as in the suffix *θεν*=Sanscrit *tas*, Latin *tus* (§. 421.), and in the personal terminations of the middle and passive which begin with *σθ* (see §. 474.).

bite"); *yáltrâ*, feminine, "provisions" (root *yâ*, "to go"). So in Greek, *νίπτρο-ν*, *πλῆκτρο-ν*, *μάκτρο-ν*, *λέκτρο-ν* ("bed," as "means of lying"), *βάκτρο-ν* ("stick," as "means for going"), *ζῶ-σ-τρο-ν*, *ἄροτρο-ν*, *θέλγητρο-ν*, *φίλητρο-ν*, *ἔλυτρο-ν*, *θήρατρο-ν*, *ἄρθρο-ν*, *βάθρο-ν*, *λείβηθρο-ν*, *μάκτρα*, *πί-σ-τρα*, *καλύπτρα*, *βάθρα*, *κρεμάθρα*. The suffix in the class of words under discussion is, in Sanscrit, seldom accented, and still more rarely in Greek: the most common Sanscrit word of this kind is *vaktrá-m*, "mouth," as "speaking," or "instrument of speaking;" so *paktrá-m*, "holy fire," properly "that which cooks" (root *pach* from *pak*); *dhartrá-m*, "house," as "holding," "receiving" (root *dhar*, *dhṛi*); *vêtrá-m*, "a reed," as "moving itself" (root *vî*). In Greek, *λουτρό-ν* and *δαιτρό-ν* belong to this head. The latter, by its passive signification, corresponds ("the distributed") to the Vêdian *dâtrám*, "gift," as "that which has been given," or "is to be given."* As respects its base syllable, however, *δαιτρόν* (*δαίω*) belongs to the Sanscrit root *dô* = *dâ*, "to cut off," whence *dâtra-m*, "a sickle." As the suffix *târ*, in Sanscrit, is occasionally preceded by an *i* as conjunctive vowel, so also is *tra*, and then either the conjunctive vowel or the base syllable is accented: the former in *khaní-tra-m*, "a spade" (*khan*, "to dig"), the latter in *vâd-i-tra-m*, "a musical instrument," properly "that which causes to speak or utter a sound" (root *vad*, "to speak," in the causal); *gâr-i-tra-m*, "rice," properly "that which causes to eat," "nourishes" (root *gar*, *gṛi*, "*deglutire*," in the causal). As we have above (§. 810.) compared the Greek *ε* of forms like *γεν-ε-τήρ* with the Sanscrit-Latin vowel of conjunction *i* of the corresponding *jan-i-târ*, *gen-i-tôr*, so may also the *ε* of *φέρ-ε-τρο-ν* be taken as the cor-

* Benfey quotes in his Glossary to the Sâma Vêda, p. 88, the following passage of the Rig. Vêda: *ási bhágó ási dâtrásya dâtâ*, "thou art the Lord: thou art the distributor of alms."

ruption of *ι*, and the said word be contrasted with Sanscrit formations like *khan-í-tra-m* and *vád-i-tra-m*. It may, however, be the case, that the ε of *φέρ-ε-τρον* is identical with the class-vowel ε of *φέρ-ε-τε*, *φέρ-ε-τον*, &c.; then *φέρ-ε-τρον* would correspond to Sanscrit formations like *pát-a-tram*, "wing," as "instrument of flying;" *vádh-a-tra-m*, "weapon," as "slaying;" *kŕint-a-tra-m*, "plough," as "cleaver" (root *kṛit* from *kart*, in the special tenses *kṛint*, compare *κείρω*): for which, indeed, the Grammarians assume a suffix *atra*, the *a* of which, however, appears to me identical with the inserted vowel of the first and sixth class; thus, *pát-a-tra-m*, like *pát-a-ti*, "he flies;" *kŕint-a-tra-m*, like *kŕint-a-ti*, "he cleaves."* Thus in Greek the *η* of forms like *φίλη-τρο-ν* and *κόρη-θρο-ν* evidently belongs to the verbal base, and is identical with that of *φιλή-σω*, *κορή-σω*. The same is the case with the *á* and *é* of the corresponding class of words in Latin *arâ-tru-m*, *fulgê-tru-m*, *fulgê-tra*, *verê-tru-m*, where it must be observed, that, according to §. 109ᵇ. c., the *á* of the first as well as the *é* of the second conjugation are identical in their origin with the *η* of the above-mentioned Greek forms. As, however, the *é* of the second conjugation is less permanent than the *á* of the first and the *í* of the fourth (see §. 801. Note), we cannot be surprised to find, not *mulgê-tra*, *mulgê-trum*, but *mulc-tra*, *mulc-tru-m*; not *monê-tru-m*, but *mon-s-trum*. The *s* of *monstrum* corresponds to the euphonic *s* mentioned in §. 95. A similar one is also to be found in *lu-s-trum* and *flu-s-trum*. *Vi-trum*, "glass," as it were, "instrument of seeing," or "making to see," has lost the *d* of the root. We should have expected *vis-trum* (see §. 101.) according to the analogy of *ras-trum*, *ros-trum*, *claus-trum*, *cas-trum*. In the third con-

* The Indian Grammarians include the *i* of the above-mentioned words in *i tra* in the suffix.

jugation, the class syllable of which has, from the time of the unity of language, as a rule not extended itself beyond the present, with its derivatives, and the imperfect, the suffix is joined, for the most part, direct to the root, *e.g. ru-trum, spec-trum.* In the fourth conjugation we should expect *î-trum,* in accordance with *â-trum* in the first, and *ê-trum* in the second; but *haus-trum,* from *hauris,* is in conformity to the other anomalies of this verb.

817. The Zend has, according to §. 47., changed the *t* of the suffix *tra* into *th,* but leaves it unaltered after sibilants, which, in general, do not admit of *th* after them; hence 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬀 *yaoschdâthra,* "means of purification" (V. S. p. 263), nominative accusative *-thrĕ-m* (see §. 30.): *dôithrĕ-m,* "eye" (as "seeing"), is connected in its root and suffix with the Greek *θέατρον,* although the meaning of the latter has taken a different direction, since it signifies the place which affords the spectacle. The corresponding Sanscrit root is most probably *dhyâi,* with which Pott ("*E. I. I.*" p. 231) has been the first to compare the Greek *θεάομαι,* although *dhyâi* signifies not "to see" but "to think," where it is to be observed that बुध *budh,* "to know," has, in Zend, received the meaning of "to see," as विद् *vid,* "to know," has in Latin, while the Greek root *ἰδ* (εἴδω, οἶδα) unites the two meanings. Remark, also, with Burnouf ("*Yaçna,*" p. 372), the New Persian root *dî,* "to see" (infinitive *dî-dan*),* and the contraction which the Sanscrit root *dhyâi* has experienced in the substantive *dhî* (nominative *dhî-s*), "understanding," "insight." The following are examples in which the suffix spoken of has preserved its original tenuis under the protection of a preceding sibilant: *vaŝtrĕm,* "robe," feminine *vaŝtra* (see §. 137., Sanscrit *vástra-m,* see §. 721.

* The present *bînam* belongs probably to a different root, and, in fact, to the Sanscrit *vid.*

Note **), and 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 *vâŝtra* (as theme), "the willow," as "growing"* (connected in its root with the Old High German base *wahs-a-mon*, "shrub," "fruit," see §. 799.), whence the often occurring *vâŝtravat*, "willowy," as also *vâŝtrya* (nominative *-yô*), "farmer." The Zend uses the formations in *thra, tra*, also in the sense of abstract substantives, which, according to what has been said (§. 809.) regarding the radically connected Latin formations in *târa*, cannot surprise us. The following are examples: 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬉𐬙𐬭𐬋𐬨 *dar-ĕ-thrĕ-m*, "possession," "reception," "retention" (Sanscrit root *dhar, dhṛi*, "to keep"); 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬉𐬙𐬭𐬋𐬨 *mar-ĕ-thrĕm*, "mention" (Sanscrit root *smar, smṛi*, "to remember"); 𐬴𐬀𐬙𐬭𐬋𐬨 *khâthrĕm*, "splendour;"† 𐬴𐬀𐬯𐬯𐬭𐬋𐬨 *khâŝ-trĕm*,

* I doubt not that this expression comes from the Sanscrit root *vaksh*, "to grow," which, in Zend, in the devoid of Guna special tenses of the fourth class, is contracted to *ucs*. With respect to the suppression of the guttural in the above form, compare the relation of the Sanscrit *chash-tê*, "he says," to the root *chaksh*, and the Zend *chashman*, "eye" (as "saying," "announcing"), to the same root, and to the cognate Sanscrit word *châkshus*.

† At the end of compounds *pôuru-khâthra*, "having much lustre" (see Burnouf, "*Yaçna*," p. 421). I consider *khâthra* to be an abbreviation of *kharthra* (*kharéthra*, according to §. 44.), and derive it from the root *khar*, "to shine," whence, also, 𐬴𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬋𐬨 *kharĕnô*, "lustre." The root *sur* (from *svar*, see §. 36.) corresponds in Sanscrit. The loss of the final consonant of the root appears to be compensated by lengthening the vowel, as in the Sanscrit *jâtá*, "born," from *jan*; *khâtá*, "engraven," from *khan*. Observe, also, the relation of the Zend 𐬰𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬌 *zazâmi*, "I produce," to the Sans. *jájanmi*. Burnouf gives another derivation of *khâthra*, "lustre" (l. c. p. 419) dividing it into *kha*, "*suus*," and *âthra*, according to which its literal meaning would be "*suum ignem habens*," and therefore *âthra* would be connected with the word *âtar*, "fire," which is used in its uncompounded form, and the *a* of which is suppressed in the weakest cases; hence *âthr-at*, "*igne*;" *âthr-aêm*, "*ignium*." Burnouf touches also on the possibility of the prefix 𐬵 *su, hu*, "fair," being contained in *khâthra*, in which case its proper signification would be "*pulchrum ignem habens*."

"taste." The latter Burnouf ("*Yaçna*," p. 220) derives, undoubtedly with justness, from the Sanscrit root *svâd*: the transition of *d* into *ŝ* is here quite regular (see §. 102. conclusion); and *khâŝtrĕm* therefore resembles, both in the euphonic treatment of the radical *d* and in the suffix, the (§. 815. conclusion) above-mentioned Latin formations, as *claus-trum*.

818. As regards the formation of abstract substantives through the suffix under discussion, the German languages admit of comparison with the Zend in several interesting forms. The Gothic furnishes us with the neuter base *maur-thra* (nominative accusative *maurthr*, see §. 153.), "murder," properly "the killing," the obscure root of which leads us to the Sanscrit *mar, mṛi*, "to die," causal *mârâyâmi*, "I slay." * Besides the above, J. Grimm (II. p. 123) deduces from *blôstreis* a neuter *blôstr*, "oblation" (theme *blôstra*), which I should be glad to admit did it anywhere occur. Nevertheless, I think its existence must be assumed, and I derive from it the existing masculine *blôstrei-s*, the base of which, *blôstrya* (see §. 135.), has the same relation to its presupposed primitive base *blôstra* that the previously mentioned Zend *vâŝtryô* (theme *vâŝtrya*), "countryman," has to its primitive base *vâŝtra*, "pasture." † The root of the Gothic base *blôs-tra* is *blôt*, "to sacrifice," "to

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A derivation, however, in which *khâthra* would etymologically also signify what the sense requires, and according to which it would be radically identical with a word (*kharĕnô*) literally meaning "lustre," appears to me the most natural.

* The *u* of the Gothic form is a weakening of *a*, to which, according to §. 82., an euphonic *a* is prefixed. As most of the German languages have lost the *r* of the Gothic *maurthr*, and consequently the agreement between them in suffix with the primitive suffix *tra, thra*, is no longer recognisable, we should remark with care the English "murder."

† It is a rule in Sanscrit that verbal bases terminating with a vowel reject their final vowel before vowels or *y* in an annexed derivative suffix.

worship," whence, according to §. 102., *blôs-tra*, in analogy with the Zend *khâs-tra*, "taste," from *khâd-tra*; so *gils-tra*, "tax," nominative accusative *gilstr*, from *gild-tra*, *gild-tr*, from the weakened form of the root *gald*, with the preposition *us* and *fra*, "to repay."* The *a* of the Old High German *gels-tar*, *kels-tar*, *ghels-tar* (Graff, IV. 194.), I take to be an auxiliary vowel inserted to remedy the harshness of an accumulation of consonants at the end of a word, and which, on the annexation of the case-terminations in these and similar words, is again dropped, hence genitive plural *ghels-tro*; so from *bluos-tar*, *blos-tar*, "oblation," dative *blos-tre*; from *hlah-tar*, "laughing," "laughter," dative *hlah-tre*.† We have, therefore, in the common German expression *Ge-läch-ter*, as also in the English "laugh-ter," analogous forms to the Zend abstract neuter bases in *thra*, *tra*, as also to the Sanscrit formations in *tra*, Greek in τρο, and Latin in *tru*. Thus in English also "slaugh-ter," which in its radical part, graphically at least, is more perfectly retained than the cognate verb "slay." Probably, also, "thun-der" and "wea-ther" are to be included in the class of words which are formed in Sanscrit by the suffix *tra*, though the *t*-sound of the suffix is lost in the appellation of "thunder" in the older dialects (Old High German *donar* masculine, Old Saxon *thunar*, Anglo-Saxon *thunor*); on the other hand in Latin we have *ton-i-trus*, *ton-i-tru*, where the *u* of the fourth declension is matter of surprise, as the Sanscrit *a*

* With respect to the interchange of *t*, *th*, and *d* (*blôs-tra*, *gils-tra*, compared with *maur-thra*), in suffixes originally commencing with *t*, I refer the reader to §. 91.

† Whether the gender be masculine or neuter is not to be determined from the cases which occur (accusative *hlahtar*, dative *hlahtre* and *hlahtere*); as, however, the perfectly analogous *blôstar* shews itself, by the accusative plural *blôstar*, to be neuter, I agree with Graff (IV. 1112.) in considering *hlahtar* also as neuter, in accordance with the analogous Gothic and Zend forms.

would lead us to expect only the unorganic *u* of the second declension (see §. 116.). The corresponding Sanscrit root is *stan*, "to thunder," whence *stan-ayi-tnú-s*, "the thunder."* "Weather" belongs to the Sanscrit root *vâ*, "to blow," whence also the Lithuanian *wẽ-tra*, "storm." To return to the Gothic; *fô-dr*, "sheath" (theme *fô-dra*), and *huli-s-tr*, "veil" (theme *huli-s-tra*), belong to the class of words here discussed. The latter proceeds from the verbal base *hul-ya*; its *i*, therefore, is the contraction of the syllable *ya*, as in the preterite *hul-i-da*. I regard the *s* as an euphonic affix, as in the Latin *lu-s-tru-m*, *flu-s-trum* (see §. 815. conclusion), *capi-s-trum*. The following nominal derivatives are analogous: *avi-s-tr*, "sheep-cote," as "place of the sheep," from the lost primitive base *avi* (=Sanscrit *avi*, Lithuanian *awi*); and *navi-s-tr*, "grave," as "place of the dead," from *naus*, theme *nava*, with the weakening of the *a* to *i*, as in the genitive *navi-s* (see §. 191.) Observe that the Greek and Latin languages very frequently transfer the suffixes of verbal derivatives to nominal derivatives. *Fô-dr*,

* *Ay* is the character of the tenth class, and *itnu* the suffix, which forms adjectives with the signification of the participle present and masculine appellatives; as, *harshayitnús*, "rejoicing," and as a substantive masculine "son," as "the causer of rejoicing" (so *nandana*, "son," from *nand* "to rejoice"). The *i* is evidently merely a vowel of conjunction, as in the future *stan-ay-i-shyáti*, "it will thunder:" there also exists, as well as *i-tnu*, a more simple suffix *tnu*, as in *hatnú-s*, masculine, "sickness," and "a weapon," as "slaying," from *han*, "to slay." The *t* of *tnu* and *itnu* may be regarded in the same light as the euphonic *t* mentioned above (§. 797. Note); so that, therefore, only *nu* would be left as the true suffix, as appears in *bhânú-s*, "sun," as "giving light." The circumstance that the Latin *ton-i-tru-s*, *ton-i-tru*, stands in the class of words under discussion in a very isolated position, owing to its *u* of the fourth declension, may lead us to compare it, with respect to its suffix also, with the Sanscrit *stanayitnú-s*, by assuming an exchange of the liquids; so that *tru* would stand for *tnu*, just as in the Latin *pul-mô* (for *plu-mô*) an *l* stands over against the Greek nasal of πνεύμων (compare §. 20.)

"sheath," theme *fô-dra*, in its obscure root corresponds to the Sanscrit *pâ*, "to receive," and in its entire form to *pâtra-m*, "vessel," as "keeping." With respect to the Gothic *d*, for the *th*, which was to be expected, compare *fa-drein*, "parents," with the Sanscrit *pi-târâu* (for *pa-*), which is also radically connected with *fô-dr* (see §. 812.). The Old High German *fô-tar*, *fuo-tar*, "fodder" (for *fô-tr*, Anglo-Saxon, *fô-dr*, *fô-dher*, *fo-ddar*, *fo-ddur*) is identical in root and suffix with the appellation of "sheath," which "supports," but only in a different manner from that in which "fodder" does. To this class of words may be added, with more or less certainty, a few other Old High German neuters which end, in the nominative and accusative, in *tar* or *dar*: viz. *flu-dar*, "float," from the root *flu* (=Sanscrit *plu*), which has generally assumed the affix of a *z* (see 109[b]. 1.); *flô-dar*, "*fluor*,"* from the same root; *ruo-dar*, "rudder," apparently as "making to flow or navigate," in root and suffix akin to the Latin *ru-trum*, and Greek ῥέ-θρον (ῥέω from σρε(Ϝ)ω, Sanscrit *srávâmi*, from the root *sru*, "to flow," causal *srâvay*), and radically, perhaps, also with *re-mus*.† Perhaps, too, we ought to class here *wundar*, *wuntar*, "wonder," and *wuldar*, "glory,"‡ as derivatives from roots now unknown.

819. To the Sanscrit feminine suffix *trâ*, as in *dánshṭrâ*, "tooth" (see §. 815.), corresponds the Gothic *thlô*, in *nethlô* (nominative and accusative *nêthla*), "needle," as "instrument of sewing;" as in the Greek ακέστρα, but with *l* for *r*; which, according to §. 20., cannot surprise us, particularly as the Greek suffixes τλο, θλο, τλη, θλη (see Pott, II. p. 555), are

* The Sanscrit form for *flu-dar*, *flô-dar*, would be *plô-tra-m* (*ô*=*au*).

† Graff, II. p. 493, presupposes a root *rad*; but the Anglo-Saxon *rovan*, *reovan*, *revan*, "*remigare*," mentioned by him, proves the contrary, and answers to the Sanscrit causal base *sravây*.

‡ Gothic *vulthus*, probably with *thu*, =Sanscrit *tu*, as suffix.

likewise evidently to be referred to the Sanscrit *tra, trâ;* as in ὄχ-ε-τλο-ν, χύ-τλο-ν, θύ-σ-θλο-ν, ἐχ-έ-τλη, γεν-έ-θλη. Ὄχ-ε-τλο-ν, in a Sanscrit form would be perhaps *vah-i-tra-m*, or *vah-a-tra-m*. With regard to γενέθλη as an abstract substantive, I must remark, that in Sanscrit also the feminine suffix *trâ* is occasionally used to form abstract substantives; thus, the *yâtrâ* mentioned above (§. 815.) means also "gait." In Old High German the word for "needle" exhibits in the nominative and accusative, in different writers, *nâ-dla, nâ-dila, nâ-dela*, and *nâ-dal*: the Anglo-Saxon form is *næ-dl*. We have further to mention, in Gothic, *hleithra* (theme *-thrô*), "a tent," which has retained the old *r*, though its root is obscured: it belongs, in my opinion, to the Sanscrit *śri* from *kri*, "to go" (compare *vé́śman*, "house," from *viś*, "to enter"), whence *â-śraya-s*, "asylum," "house," and in Gothic also *hliya*, masculine, (theme *-yan*), "a tent." To this root belongs also, among other words, the Old High German *hlei-tara* (for *hleitra*)* (which, on account of its suffix, also belongs to this class), Anglo-Saxon *hlædre, hlæ-der*, German *Lei-ter*, "ladder," as "instrument of mounting."

820. Let us now consider somewhat more closely the perfect passive participle, which we have already had occasion to mention more than once.† Its suffix is, in Sanscrit and Zend, usually *ta* (masculine and neuter), feminine *tâ*, and is, I have no doubt, identical with the demonstrative base *ta* (see §. 343.). There is no ground, therefore, in the word itself for a passive signification, except, perhaps, in the accent; for while, according to §. 785. Remark, the ac-

* Graf (IV. p. 1115.) quotes for the nominative the forms *leitra, hleitar, leitera, leiter*, genitive *hleitra*. It admits of no doubt, that the forms in *r* have lost a final *a*, and that they cannot be classed with *muotar, tohtar, suestar*, of which the proper termination is *r*.

† See §§. 513. 588.

tive forms require the most powerful accentuation, *i.e.* the accent on the first syllable; in the passive participle under discussion the suffix receives the accent: hence we have *paktás*, "*coctus*," accusative *paktám*, standing similarly opposed to *páchan*, "*coquens*," *páchantam*, "*coquentem*," as above (§. 785. Remark) *śuchyátê*, "*purificatur*," is opposed to *śúchyatê*, "*purificat*." Greek verbals in τό-ς, which, as scarce needs to be noticed, are identical with the perfect participles passive of the cognate languages, have retained the old accentuation, and thus we have ποτό-ς, ποτή, ποτόν,* standing in the same relation to πότος, "the drinking" (compare §. 785. Remark, near the end), that, in Sanscrit, *píyátê*, "*bibitur*," has to *píyatê* (Class 4, middle), "*bibit*." The paroxytone or proparoxytone accent of abstracts in το appears to be preserved principally where, together with the abstract, the passive verbal is actually in use, and where, consequently, there is the more ground for bringing the abstract meaning prominently forward by the accent; whilst otherwise the abstract follows in its accentuation the prevailing example of verbals with passive signification; hence, indeed, πότος, ἄροτος, ἄμητος, τρύγητος, ἔμετος, ἄλετος, opposed to ποτός, ἀροτός, ἀμητός, τρυγητός, ἐμετός, ἀλετός (ἄλητον); but not κόπετος, κώκυτος, ἀλόητος, but κοπετός, κωκυτός, ἀλοητός, as these abstracts have no oxytone passive verbals to match them. There are, however, some isolated abstracts, or words which express the time of an action, which have the accent thrown back, as βίοτος, δείπνη-σ-τος.

821. The participial suffix त *ta* is either joined direct to the root or by a vowel of conjunction *i*. To the first kind of formation belong *jñâ-tá-s*, "known" = Greek γνω-τό-ς,

* Compare the Sanscrit *pîtás*, *pîtâ*, *pîtám*, from the root *pâ*, "to drink;" which, in the passive, has the *â* weakened to *î*. There is also a middle root *pî* of the fourth class.

Latin *(g)nō-tu-s, i-gnō-tu-s; dat-tá-s,* "given,"* Zend *dâ-tô* (theme *dâta*), Latin *da-tu-s*, Greek δο-τό-ς; *śru-tá-s,* "heard," Greek κλυ-τό-ς, Latin *clu-tu-s; bhû-tá-s,* "been," "being," Greek φυ-τό-ς; *bhṛi-tá-s* (from *bhartas,* see §. 1.), "borne," Zend *bĕrĕtô* (theme *-ta*), Greek (φερ-τό-ς) ἄ-φερ-το-ς, Latin *fer-tus,* "bearing," "fruitful;" *stṛi-tá-s,* "extended" (from *startás*), Zend *fra-štárĕtô* (*fra* preposition), Greek στρα-τό-ς, (transposed from σταρ-τός), Latin *strâ-tu-s; pak-tá-s,* "cooked," Greek πεπ-τό-ς (root πεπ from πεκ, Sanscrit *pach,* from *pak,* Latin *coc,* from *poc*), Latin *coc-tu-s; uk-tá-s,* "spoken" (irregular for *vaktás*), Zend *uctô* (*hûctô,* "well-spoken" (from *hu-uctô*); *yuk-tá-s,* "bound," Greek ζευκ-τό-ς, Latin *junc-tu-s; bhṛish-tá-s,* "roasted" (from *bhrashṭás,* and this from *bhrak-tás*), Greek φρυκ-τό-ς, Latin *fric-tus; bad-dhá-s,* "bound" (euphonic for *badh-tá-s,* root *bandh*), Zend *bas-tô;*† *lab-dhá-s,* "obtained" (euphonic for *labhtás*), Greek ληπ-τό-ς; *jâ-tá-s,* "born" (root *jan*), Zend *zâ-tô,* Greek γε-τό-ς, in the compound τηλύγετος;‡ *matá-s,* "thought" (root *man*), Zend *matô,* (compare μεν-ε-τός); *dish-ṭâ-s,* "shewn" (euphonic for *dish-tás,* from *dik-tás,* see §. 21.), Greek (δεικτός) ἀναπόδεικτος, χειρόδεικτος, &c., Latin *dic-tūs; dash-ṭá-s,* "bitten" (euphonic for *daś-tás,* from *dak-tás*), Greek (δηκ-τό-ς), ἄδηκτος, καρδιόδηκτος; *dṛish-tá-s,* "seen" (from *darshtás,* and this from

* From *dadâtas,* with irregular retention of the reduplication of the special tenses.

† See §. 102., and compare Greek analogous form, as κεστός, πιστός. With regard to the Latin form of this participle in roots with a *T* sound see §. 101.

‡ It is a rule in Sanscrit that before formative suffixes beginning with *t,* which require no Guna augment, the *n* and *m* of the root are rejected; *jan,* "to produce, to bear," and *khan,* "to engrave," lengthen their vowel in doing this. From *han,* "to smite, to slay," comes *hatás,* with which we may compare the Greek -φατος, as ΦΕΝΩ (φόνος, ἔπεφνον), like θνήσκω, most probably belongs to the Sanscrit root *han,* from *dhan* (*nidhana,* "death").

dark-tás), Greek (δερκτός), ἐπίδερκτος; *ush-ṭá-s*, "burnt," Latin *us-tu-s*. The following are examples with the conjunctive vowel *i*: *prat-i-tá-s*, "*extensus*" (root प्रथ् *prath*, whence *pṛithú-s*, "broad," from *prathú-s*, Greek πλατύ-ς, Lithuanian *pla-tù-s*); *añch-i-tá-s*, "*erectus*," *pat-i-tá-s*, "*qui cecidit*,"* So in Latin, *dom-i-tus*, *mon-i-tus*, *mol-i-tus*, *gen-i-tus*. In Greek the ε of forms like *μεν-ε-τός*, *σκελ-ε-τός*, *ἑρπ-ε-τός*, corresponds, where we again leave it undecided whether this *t* be a corruption of an *i* or an *a*.†

822. The Latin forms in *idus*, springing from neuter verbs, and for the most part of the second conjugation, as *pall-i-dus*, *ferv-i-dus*, *frig-i-dus*, *torr-i-dus*, *tim-i-dus*, *tep-i-dus*, *splend-i-dus*, *nit-i-dus*, *luc-i-dus*, *fulg-i-dus*, *viv-i-dus*, *sap-i-dus*, *flu-i-dus*, correspond to the participles in *tá* in Sanscrit, which spring from neuter verbs, and have an active signification, and especially to those which have a present meaning; as, *tvar-i-tás*, "hastening," *sthitás*, "standing," *suptás*, "sleeping" (also "having slept"), *śaktás*, "being able,"‡ *yat-tas*, "striving," *bhí-tás*, "fearing," *hrí-tás*, "being

* Regarding the active signification of this participle in neuter verbs see §. 513. conclusion; so, in Greek, *στατός*, "standing," = Sanscrit *sthitás* (weakened from *sthâtás*), which likewise signifies present time: on the other hand *pra-sthitás* means both "*proficiscens*" and "*profectus*."

† Compare §. 815., and Curtius "*De Nominum Græcorum formatione*," pp. 38, 60. Indian Grammarians assume a suffix (*uṇâdi*) *atá*, the *a* of which, however, is most probably only a class-vowel, with which the Greek ε might be compared; thus, *ἑρπ-ε-τός* (compare *ἕρπ-ε-τε*) like *pach-a-tás*, "fire," as "cooking." The abstracts *θάν-α-τος*, "death," and *κάμ-α-τος*, "fatigue," have preserved the conjunctive vowel in its original form, and thus correspond to the Sanscrit *mar-a-tá-s*, "death;" where, however, we must observe that the Sanscrit root *mar*, *mṛi*, "to die," in its verbal conjugation, does not belong to the first or sixth class any more than the Greek roots *θαν* and *καμ*.

‡ The form with the conjunctive vowel (*śak-i-tás*) has a passive signification, so *yat-i-tás*, "obtained by efforts, sought for," compared with *yat-tás*, "striving." In Latin, *vice versâ*, *rap-i-dus*, active, opposed to *rap-tus*, passive.

ashamed;" and to the Greek στατός, "standing;" μενετός, "remaining;" ἑρπετός, "creeping." The opinion, therefore, elsewhere stated, appears probable, that the *d* in the Latin forms just mentioned is only the weakening of an original tenuis,* just as in *quadraginta, quadruplus, quadruplex*, for *quatraginta*, &c. An active and present meaning, though in a transitive verb, and with the retention of the old tenuis, occurs in the participle spoken of in *fertus*, "bearing," "fruitful," which corresponds in form with the Sanscrit *bhṛitás*, from *bhartás*, "borne," Zend *bĕrĕtô*, and Greek -φερτος (see §. 818.).

823. The Sanscrit verbs of the tenth class, and the causals identical with them in form, have all of them the conjunctive vowel *i*; hence *pîḍ-i-tás*, "pressed," "pained;" *vêś-i-tá-s*, "made to enter." The circumstance, however, that the said verbs extend their character *ay* (in the special tenses *aya*) to the universal tenses also, and a great part of the formation of words, gives room for the conjecture that the *i* of forms like *pîḍ-i-tás, vêś-i-tás*, is not the ordinary vowel of conjunction, but a contraction of *ay*; or that such forms in *i-tá-s* have been preceded by older ones in *ay-i-tas*, according to the analogy of the infinitives, as *pîḍ-áyi-tum*. As, then, Latin supines like *am-â-tum, aud-i-tum*, are related to *pîḍ-áyi-tum*, just such is the relation of *am-â-tus, aud-i-tus*, to the presupposed *pîḍ-áyi-tas*. Although the Latin second conjugation also belongs here, and, for example, *moneo* corresponds to the Sanscrit causal *mân-áyâ-mi* and Prâkrit *mâṇ-ê-mi* (see p. 110), I would nevertheless prefer to identify *mon-i-tus* with *mân-i-tás* in such a way

passive. Observe, also, the active *cup-i-dus* together with the passive *cup-i-tus*. These, however, are only arbitrary usages, which rest on no general principle.

* *Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words*, pp. 21, 22. Pott is of a different opinion, *E. I. M.* p. 567.

that I could thence infer the existence of similar forms in the time of the unity of language, while I would prefer assuming a casual coincidence in the similar abbreviation of a common element. In Greek the *η* or *ω* of forms like *φιλ-η-τός*, *τιμ-η-τός* (from *τιμ-ᾱ-τος*), *χειρ-ω-τός*, corresponds to the character of the Sanscrit tenth class, and therefore to the Latin *â* and *î* of *am-â-tus*, *aud-î-tus*. In Gothic, where, as generally throughout the German languages, this participle remains regular only in the so-called weak conjugation, the old tenuis, instead of, in accordance with §. 87., becoming an aspirate, has sunk down to a medial, in such-wise, however, as that before the *s* of the masculine nominative, and in the accusative, which has lost the final vowel of the base and the case termination, a *th* for *d* enters (compare §. 91.). According to the difference of the conjugational class, an *i* (from *ya*), *ô*, or *ai*, *i.e.* the three different forms of the Sanscrit character of the tenth class (*ay*, see §. 109[a]. c.) precedes; hence the bases *tam-i-da*,* "*domitus*;" *friy-ô-da*,† "*amatus*;" *ga-yuk-ai-da*, "*subjugatus*;" nominative masculine *tamiths*, *friyôths*, *gayukaiths*; accusative *tamith*, &c.; genitive *tam̆idi-s*, &c. (see §. 191.). The direct annexation of the participial suffix occurs in Gothic only in certain irregular verbs, and in such a manner that, according to the measure of the preceding consonant, either the original tenuis is preserved, or has become *d* (see §§. 626. 91.). Thus the base *bauhta*,‡ "purchased" (*bugya*,

* Compare Sanscrit *dam-i-tás* (from *dam-ayi-tás*?) from *damáyâmi*, causal of the root *dam*, "to tame," but of the same meaning as the primitive and the Latin *dom-i-tus*.

† It may be regarded as the denominative of the Sanscrit *priya*, "dear," "beloved;" and it is also, radically and in its formation, akin to the Greek *φιλ-η-τός* (from *φιλέω*, denominative of *φίλος*, transposed from *φλιος*), the *η* of which has sprung, like the Gothic *ô*, from *â*.

‡ Euphonic for *buhta* (see §. 82.), and this from *bukta*, from the root *bug*.

"I purchase"), corresponds to Sanscrit forms like *bhuktá*, "eaten" (root *bhuj* from *bhug*), Greek like *φρυκτό*, and Latin like *junctu; mun-da*, "believed," answers to the Sanscrit *ma-tá*, "thought," "believed," for *man-tá*, as the feminine substantive base *ga-mun-di* (nominative *-n-ds*) does to the Sanscrit *má(n)-ti*, "meaning."

824. In Lithuanian the participial suffix spoken of is retained quite unaltered in form, and, indeed, in all verbs, so far as they have a passive. In the nominative masculine *ta-s* corresponds to the Sanscrit *tá-s;* e.g. *sekta-s*, "followed" = Sanscrit *saktá-s* (root *sach*, from *sak*, "to follow," compare Latin *sequor*); *seg-ta-s*, "fastened" = Sanscrit *sak-tá-s* for *sag-tá-s* (root सञ्ज् *sañj*, from *sang*, "to fasten"); *deg-ta-s*, "burnt" = Sanscrit *dag-dhá-s.** In the nominative feminine *sekta, segta, degta*, correspond to the Sanscrit *saktá, dagdhá*, only with the *a* shortened, as in Gothic, Latin, and Zend, forms like *bauhta* (genitive *bauhtô-s*), *juncta*, 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬙𐬀 *baŝta* (see §. 137.): to the Latin *juncta* corresponds literatim the Lithuanian *yunkta*, from *yungiu*, "I yoke (the oxen):" *kept-as, kepta* (from *keppù*, "I bake," see §. 501.), corresponds to the Sanscrit *pak-tá-s, tá*, Greek *πεπτό-ς, τή*, Latin *coctu-s, ta*. Forms like *wes-ta-s*, "conducted" (root *wed*), correspond in a euphonic respect to Zend like *baŝ-tô*, "bound" (root *baudh*), *iriŝ-tô*, "dead" (root *irith*), and Greek like *πισ-τός, κεσ-τός* (see §. 102.). To the Gothic participles of the weak conjugation correspond the participles of those Lithuanian conjugations, which we have above (§. 506.) compared with the Sanscrit tenth class; thus, *myl-i-tas*, "beloved;" *pen-ẽ-tas*, "nourished;" *laik-y-tas*, "held."

825. The Sclavonic languages have, if the opinion ex-

* *Dh* euphonic for *t*, see §. 104. In Irish, *daghaim*, "I burn," corresponds to the Sanscrit *dáhâmi;* and *dagte*, "burnt," to the passive participle *daghdá-s*, Lithuanian *dẽgtas*.

pressed in §. 628. be well based, transferred to the active voice the passive participle here spoken of—with the retention, however, of the meaning of past time—and have weakened the original *t* to *l*, probably by changing, it in an intervening stage, to *d*. In the former point they correspond to the New Persian, where the participle in question has, at least generally, an active signification: in the latter point they agree with the Georgian, where ჭამული *jam-u-li* signifies "eaten" (Sanscrit *jam*, "to eat"), and თბობილი *thbob-i-li*, "warmed" (Sanscrit *tap*, "to burn").

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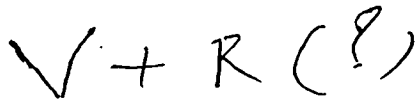

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